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15 June 1982

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No. 2640

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ECOWAS SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATED

ECOWAS Milestone

London WEST AFRICA in English 24 May 82 p 1359

[Editorial]

[Text]

FROM May 27 to 29 the leaders of the 16 member countries of the Community of West African States, better known by the acronym of ECOWAS, will be meeting in Cotonou, capital of the People's Republic of Benin, for their annual summit. Officially it is described as the fifth summit since the formal establishment of the organisation in 1978, but it is the seventh time the ECOWAS heads of state have met, and this is the seventh anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Lagos on May 28, 1975. Stocktaking would thus seem in order.

This magazine has therefore collected a number of articles on ECOWAS, including vital problem areas like trade and monetary co-operation, as well as an extended interview with one of the "founding fathers".

The question of trade is clearly the most sensitive (see article on page 1369) and one by which ECOWAS could still stand or fall. The calendar for the implementation of trade liberalisation has already been delayed, and could meet with new objections in Cotonou, particularly from those smaller groupings within ECOWAS, especially the CEAO (*Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest*) but also the Mano River Union. Much will depend on the goodwill of member states and their real desire to overcome obstacles in the wider interest of West African co-operation. Another issue which has been causing difficulties is the vexed issue of free movement of peoples. The alleged influx of ECOWAS citizens has been the subject of a certain popular outcry in Nigeria at the moment, and although there is some confusion about who is who (Chadian refugees, for example, are in no way due to ECOWAS), and it can be argued that many of those coming in, and all the illegal entrants would have been there anyway; if this is all ECOWAS means to the man in the street or the field, disappointment is understandable.



It may be helpful to indicate that there are also large Nigerian communities in places like Ivory Coast, to illustrate that such movement has mutual benefits. But the deeper point is that ECOWAS needs to be looked at in a much wider context, and until that context is visible, the frictions over a relatively limited area like freeing movement are bound to continue.

For the last month, a whole series of Commissions in different subjects, for example, such as transport and telecommunications, energy, industry, trade and agriculture have been meeting in Cotonou, followed by a meeting of ministers of Agriculture, and, prior to the summit, the ECOWAS Council of ministers is finalising proposals for the summit.

None of this is headline catching. But when we learn that in the transport field a system of ECOWAS "brown cards" for motor insurance is to be approved, to give drivers sub-regional cover; and that other conventions regulating and harmonising transport arrangements in the sub-region: (such as size of vehicles); that in the area of telecommunications a large contract is in the process of being put out to tender, with all the funding already organised and that this will be the first major utilisation of the ECOWAS Fund (see article on page 1369); that the assembled agriculture ministers have drawn up a framework-agreement on regional strategy in the field of agriculture, with a particular objective of self-sufficiency; add to that, the first important initiatives being taken in the field of energy co-operation after last year's adoption of an energy programme, as well as the proposed adoption of a mineral programme.

The obstacles are still profound. The linguistic barriers, relics of the colonial past, have been from the beginning as General Gowon points out in his interview on page 1369 one of the main challenges to the organisation, and one of the main reasons for its existence. The jigsaw of monetary systems in West Africa, are still major obstacles to real economic co-operation in the sub-region.

What seems to be important at the moment is the creation of the right-kind of psychological climate in which co-operation can flourish. This is where the economic approach seems to be the only one that can pay dividends, regardless of politics, as Gowon stresses. There is considerable satisfaction in ECOWAS circles that the new government in Ghana, politically uncertain and economically distressed as it is, should choose this time to pay all its backlog of contributions to ECOWAS, thereby indicating its order of priorities. The ECOWAS Defence Pact, the purpose of which some have questioned, is best seen in this psychological context, as are subsidiary groups such as the West African Chamber of Commerce and other professional organisations, helping to make people ECOWAS-minded.

Thus, mindful of the difficulties currently before the organisation (not for the first time) and conscious of the

continuing hopes attached thereto in the sub-region, an unusual and possibly uncharacteristic quotation from President Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast, who, as Gowon makes clear, has a remarkable commitment to ECOWAS, from his speech at signing in 1975, seems suitable: "It (ECOWAS) has ended the era of bellicose nationalism and verbal warfare and ushered in a new era of regional groupings, fruitful with clairvoyance, highlighting the desire of Africa to liberate herself from colonial yokes".

#### Long Road

London WEST AFRICA in English 24 May 82 pp 1364-1365, 1367

[Interview with Gen Yakubu Gowon, former head of state of Nigeria and a founding father of ECOWAS by WEST AFRICA; date and place not given]

[Text]

BEHIND THE NAME, ECOWAS, is a story of conflict and initiatives between the founding fathers of this sub-regional economic grouping of the anglophone and francophone West African states. General Yakubu Gowon, former head of state of Nigeria and one of the key architects of this organisation explained that the name was chosen to differentiate it from the West African Economic Community: (WAEC) *Communauté économique de L'Afrique de L'Ouest* (CEAO), which he said had been formed by the same francophone West African States while ECOWAS was being negotiated, and from a religious group of the Sudan interior mission called ECWA, popular in Sierra Leone and some parts of northern Nigeria.

Historically, General Gowon paid tribute to the United Nations' Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), who first floated the idea of regional economic groupings to the African leaders.

This was in 1963 at Addis Ababa during the first meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). He said the ECA was clearly interested and influential in trying to get various economic groupings in Africa going. Apart from ECA influence, there was also the influence of the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in encouraging regional and sub-regional groupings all round the world with the view that they would pool their resources together and therefore, improve their standard of living. The third influence, according to General Gowon, was the experience of postwar recovery in Europe through the European Economic Community (EEC).

These factors, he said, helped to convince the African heads of government at least to begin to think about regional economic grouping from Addis Ababa, "especially as the OAU had provided them with the political umbrella that was needed". The ECA had recommended five regional groupings: east, central, west, northern and southern Africa. General Gowon recalled that the ECA had advised that Chad and Cameroon should be included in the West African grouping and that he personally wanted them to join because of cultural affinity and geographical proximity with those two nations. There was opposition to this move, however, he said, because the two countries were already members of UDEAC consisting mainly of the French speaking Central African states. He said he personally took the matter up with President Ahidjo of Cameroon and Tombalbaye, but "They felt it might not be a success" and "the West African States decided to march ahead without Chad and Cameroon".

For a matter of history and also for the record, General Gowon also paid tribute to his predecessors who started "a nucleus of power or grouping of some sort" from the early sixties when most of the West African states became independent. He cited specifically attempts by Ghana and Guinea, Ghana-Guinea-Liberia and Ghana-Guinea-Mali, as well as the initiative by Nigeria and Liberia that became known as the Monrovia Group. "In the case of good old Tubman (Liberia), a lot of people said he was trying to neutralise or seek protection from Nkrumah's drive to build a new

Ghana Empire to be led by himself, Nkrumah".

He felt that his predecessors were more concerned about political groupings rather than economic union, although he quickly accepted that the former could lead to the latter. One problem that surfaced during those early political initiatives according to General Gowon, was the fear of the francophone West African states that they could be swamped by the anglophones, "by virtue of their size and population", especially as then, "Ghana was very wealthy, Nigeria was up-and-coming. Sierra Leone wasn't doing badly and The Gambia was also successful in agriculture". The francophone fears of being swamped by the anglophones arose again when General Gowon and his contemporaries began discussing seriously about the formation of ECOWAS as we know it today. For instance, CEAO was itself set up as a reaction against the moves to establish ECOWAS.

The first sub-regional meeting of the countries which subsequently formed ECOWAS was organised by the ECA in 1965 in Niamey, "where they tried to get the West African countries to agree to the economic grouping". General Gowon came to power in Nigeria in 1966 and recalled that the ECOWAS idea agreed with his own thinking. He said he did not require any convincing by the bureaucrats about the role Nigeria should play in such grouping, and from then on, he decided to do everything possible to see the birth of ECOWAS.

Subsequent meetings encouraged by the ECA, particularly the Accra meeting in 1967 and the Monrovia meeting in 1968, helped to crystalize the idea of ECOWAS. At the Accra meeting, "there were proposals for siting industries in various member states . . ." He gave credit to "good old Tubman" who suggested that the details of the agreement should be ironed-out before further steps were taken. With the benefit of hindsight, General Gowon said that "if the proposals were carried out then, it would have been like putting the cart before the horse and that would have alienated the new members who would argue then that the better industrial projects had been taken by the founding members and would be reluctant to join".

The Accra meeting also asked the members drawn from the two linguistic groups to produce studies on different areas of

co-operation. These were produced at the 1968 Monrovia meeting and formed the basis of ECOWAS.

The ECOWAS treaty was signed in 1975 ten years after the ECA's original initiative at Niamey. The Biafra-Nigeria civil war partly accounted for the delay in the establishment of ECOWAS. General Gowon remarked that Nigeria was pre-occupied with the civil war and accordingly he could not attend some meetings at the heads of state level such as the Monrovia meeting (which in fact made little progress because of Ivory Coast's absence). Furthermore, the fact that some West African nations took sides during the Nigerian civil war made the idea of any meaningful co-operation and communication difficult when the war ended in 1970. For instance, Ivory Coast and Gabon (within the region) Tanzania and Zambia (outside), supported the Biafran side during the civil war. "This situation polarised relationships", said General Gowon, but his personal commitment to peace and unity in the sub-region and Africa as a whole, made him offer reconciliation to those countries which supported Biafra. He said that the achievement of peace between Biafra and Nigeria after the two-and-a-half-years of bitter struggle had helped to convince him that the same unity could be achieved at the continental and sub-regional level. He therefore, tried to convince his colleagues of the need to reconcile with those countries which supported Biafra. He had thought that "... for Africa to get on and for us to achieve what we want to achieve, we had to make sure that we were able to achieve the same reconciliation that we had achieved at home".

His offer of reconciliation at the OAU meeting in July 1970 and his invitation to all African heads of state to Nigeria's 10th independence anniversary including those that supported Biafra, helped to heal the old wounds, he said. "I saw that if we were able to co-operate in various fields and able to achieve peace, and stability in the sub-region, we would be helping the OAU to do its work: otherwise, it would be spending its time and energy trying to mediate between various countries on various issues."

President Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo also played a significant role in reconciling Nigeria with the other Countries, particularly, Ivory Coast and Gabon. General Gowon pointed out that Eyadema invited him to a state visit in April 1972, planned

ostensibly for him to meet Presidents Houphouët Boigny and Albert Bongo of Gabon. (The two leaders did not attend the OAU meeting in 1970). General Gowon recalled his first meeting with Houphouët: "It was coolish and you could see in him some tenseness . . . but I did my best to reassure him that I was sincere about reconciliation and even thanked him for looking after Ojukwu . . . ; With Bongo, it was an embrace and you could clearly see how happy he was that the terrible ordeal was over".

It was during this period of talking that General Gowon found out that France had instilled some fear in the minds of certain francophone states about Nigeria swamping the regional grouping because of size, population and up-coming wealth. "This was told me by quite a number of them . . . they had been told, 'You've got to be very careful with Nigeria. By virtue of its size and economic potentials it may stifle all of you', but the anglophones, for instance The Gambia was quite happy about it (grouping), because it felt that Nigeria being also an English speaking country and also a member of the Commonwealth, if there was any problem between her and her neighbours it would probably give her protection, especially as the relationship between Senegal and The Gambia was really sour . . . they therefore saw it as a benefit while the francophones felt that Nigeria was a threat". General Gowon also recalled that the francophones were told in the context of the Yaoundé Conventions (I and II) that if they allowed Nigeria to come into their grouping she might take more than the lion's share of any benefits.

Gowon's policy was one of honesty, frankness and open-mindedness which helped to allay the francophone fears of selfish domination by Nigeria. He said, "I don't think that I gave them any cause to think that one day I would wake up and use my size and economic power to sweep over the neighbouring countries . . . I think they did not see in me or in the Nigerian leadership at the time any sign that would make them afraid". In a letter he sent to General Gowon after he was overthrown in July 1975, and as in his speech during the signing of the treaty in Lagos, Houphouët-Boigny recognised that what attracted him into ECOWAS was the "openness of Nigeria".

The Ivorian President's support for the formation of ECOWAS was certainly crucial, said General Gowon, "because of the

influence of Ivory Coast among the francophone countries". Paying tribute to this "elder colleague", General Gowon recalled that Houphouët-Boigny at the time of the signing of the Treaty in 1975 confirmed his support for "any meeting on economic co-ordination in the West African sub-region" though he admitted that he seldom attended OAU summits. During a discussion in Lagos at the time, Houphouët gave his country's appreciation for Nigeria's initiatives but cautioned that "economic unions were harder than political unions" and therefore "a lot of sacrifices would have to be made by some, where others may expect to gain."

Furthermore, the signing of the Lomé Convention on February 28, 1975, also helped to create a more favourable climate. General Gowon said, "We then argued that if the members of the sub-region could agree to Lomé which was even bigger than the proposed ECOWAS, they should therefore, have no problem in a smaller grouping". He dispelled suggestions that Nigeria used Lomé (which it had helped to negotiate), to entice the francophones into ECOWAS. He said that Nigeria's role in Lomé was "just to move to a talking point with the West".

Another reason why the francophones had a positive change in attitude towards the formation of ECOWAS, particularly in the case of Ivory Coast was, according to General Gowon, the fact of "the pragmatic man Houphouët was and the Ivorians too. They probably saw a great opportunity with their economic and industrial policy, that if this thing comes through, they might be the beneficiaries in an open market system from Nigeria to Mauritania." General Gowon said he always made it a duty to take them around whenever they visited Lagos, obviously to show them the large potentials of Nigeria. He also told them how Nigeria always extended its economic planning across the border. "We said to them, our market is open to all of you". General Gowon therefore, believed that the Ivorians were converted because ". . . what we were proposing suited their economic ideology."

The upsurge of Nigeria oil around that time was also helpful in convincing the Ivorians that Nigeria was capable of providing the financial back-up to the union as West Germany did in the case of the EEC. Gowon said he also gave assurances for this support. He said, "There was certainly a willingness on the part of Nigeria to be able to contribute meaningfully . . ."

According to General Gowon, Senegal, more than the Ivory Coast, was the francophone country which needed much effort to convert towards the formation of ECOWAS. He recalled that Senegal was "quite hostile", and wanted a big francophone country such as Zaire to "counterbalance Nigeria's heavyweight". Senegal had earlier, around 1968-70, been more enthusiastic, he said.

The idea of Zaire joining was rebuffed because "the union would no longer be sub-regional . . . we insisted on this on the basis of a manageable number of states". Senegal's hostility was much in evidence from the fact that it was about the last member to sign the ECOWAS treaty.

The only francophone country that was "easily forthcoming was Togo", and for this, General Gowon paid great tribute to General Eyadema. The Nigeria-Togo bilateral agreements which was started from Gowon's visit in April 1972, helped to convince the others that economic co-operation was possible. General Gowon recalled that his friendship with Eyadema was symbolic in the formation of ECOWAS. "We came to know each other as heads of state, I like his drive, his enthusiasm and we were professionally attuned to each other . . . we therefore,

became friends". This friendship and the bilateral co-operation between Nigeria and Togo, formed "the nucleus of ECOWAS".

The two leaders agreed that apart from their bilateral agreement, that they should work towards an all-embracing grouping within the region. They agreed to establish five principles on the basis of which ECOWAS was later formed. Those principles were: That it should cut across linguistic and cultural barriers; that its objectives should be realisable, its projects should be practical and its association flexible, that it should have serious institutions such as the fund, a secretariat, commissions and study groups and above all, that it should have an open-door policy towards prospective members within the region. With experts drawn from both sides to work out the details, "we continued to preach the gospel of ECOWAS to others hoping that they would join". Meetings at ministerial and heads of state levels followed culminating in the formulation of the treaty and its acceptance by ECOWAS leaders in 1975.

General Gowon felt that the present actors on the stage have not deviated from what the original principle was, and from what the founding fathers intended ECOWAS to achieve.

### Trade Problems and Prospects

London WEST AFRICA in English 24 May 82 pp 1369, 1371, 1373, 1375, 1377

[Article by Dr S. K. B. Asante, Department of Political Science, University of Ghana]

[Text] ONE OF THE TASKS of ECOWAS is to adopt a comprehensive trade liberalisation and promotion programme which is intended to culminate in the creation of a Free Trade Area in the sub-region. The aim is to turn the whole of West Africa into 'one big uniform market.' Such market expansion will provide opportunities for specialisation and more efficient use of installed capacity.

Trade liberalisation constitutes a significant part of any regional economic grouping. Participating countries benefit from the elimination of barriers to their exports to the partner countries. Removing restrictions should ensure the development of intra-regional trade in a significant manner. It is also of special importance for the developing West African countries whose

exports of manufactured goods often suffer discrimination in developed country markets such as those of the EEC, despite the provisions of the Lomé Convention.

ECOWAS intends to combine elements of greater intra-regional trade liberalisation with some element of protectionism against third countries outside the grouping, therefore countries within this economic framework should try to adopt both a common tariff nomenclature and also a common customs tariff.

### Tariff Variations

A common tariff is indeed the backbone and distinguishing characteristic of any customs union. It is an essential tool of

cumulative economic growth in any regional grouping. As is well-known, a majority of the economies of the ECOWAS countries are characterised by tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade promotion and expansion. Not only is there a multifarious system of tariff divergences among the various countries in the sub-region; there are also differences in the tariff nomenclature in most of these countries. These variations in tariffs and tariff classification encourage the development of "unrecorded trade" which tends to "lower" the customs revenue of most of the countries of the sub-region.

In addition, maintaining national tariffs can lead to distortion in intra-sub-regional trade and affect the distribution of benefits and costs from integration. Countries with relatively low tariffs on imported raw materials and intermediate products will enjoy artificial cost advantages in intra-area-trade in finished goods, and the extent of preferences granted to partner country suppliers will be greater the higher the national tariffs. The continuing differences in national tariffs and the possibilities for unilateral changes in these tariffs would tend to jeopardise the progress of economic integration in the sub-region.

Adopting a common tariff on imports from third countries, and harmonisation of other measures affecting imports and exports, will eliminate distortions in competitiveness among the partner countries, *provided that exchange rates are free to adjust*. It can also offer some protection to nascent industries within the integrated community.

A common customs tariff and harmonisation of the tariff nomenclature will also greatly minimise the problem of "unrecorded trade" so characteristic in the sub-region. While smuggling cannot be completely eliminated in this area, it is common knowledge that an added incentive is provided by divergencies in the tariff structures which create price differentials between countries, as commodities tend to be traded unrecorded from a low tariff country to a high tariff one.

It was in light of these considerations that the ECOWAS Treaty provided for a detailed programme for trade liberalisation. The main juridical framework for this scheme is provided by Article 2 sub-section 2 which stipulates among other things that the Community shall by stages ensure (a) the elimination as between the member states of customs duties and other charges

of equivalent effect in respect of the importation and exportation of goods; (b) the abolition of quantitative and administrative restrictions on trade among member states; and (c) the establishment of a common customs tariff and a common commercial policy toward third countries.

These general aims of the Treaty are explained in a detailed and programmatic form in the third chapter of the ECOWAS Treaty which lays down a 15-year timetable for the liberalisation of intra-Community trade and the setting up of the customs union.

Implementing the programme began soon after the Community had become operational. The ECOWAS summit of Heads of State and Government held in Lagos in April 1978, fixed May 28, 1979, as the start of a two-year period to consolidate import duties and non-tariff barriers on goods of Community origin. The freeze was to help both the member states and the Community to prepare for the subsequent phases of the trade and customs co-operation programme.

For an effective and smooth implementation of the trade liberalisation scheme, it was considered essential to harmonise or devise uniform trade and customs documents to facilitate trade and create the conditions for a common basis for data collection and comparative analysis. This was all the more desirable since the existing relevant administrative practices of member states had 'evolved out of four different systems or backgrounds,' reflecting the different colonial heritage of the ECOWAS countries. This had been a contributory factor to making wide areas of the West African market unfamiliar or inaccessible to potential merchants and investors of the sub-region.

In May, 1980, the Authority of Heads of State and Government meeting in Lomé adopted a Trade Liberalisation Programme, in conformity with Articles 12 and 13 of the Treaty, under which all tariff and non-tariff barriers to unprocessed products were to be totally eliminated as from the end of the two-year consolidation period, that is, May 28, 1981. Trade liberalisation for industrial products should be over a period of four years commencing from May 28, 1981, while the trade liberalisation scheme for traditional handicrafts would take effect from May 29, 1981.



## Important Decisions

To facilitate the process of trade liberalisation, the Authority of ECOWAS Heads of State and Government has taken three important decisions. The first, which relates to the "Rules of Origin for Community Trade," defines the products originating from member states which qualify for trade liberalisation within the Community. The second decision is concerned with the fixing of the desirable level of national participation in the equity capital of industrial enterprises whose products benefit from preferential duty. The third is focused on a procedure for compensation for loss of revenue that member states may suffer as a result of the implementation of the programme.

On the whole, the ECOWAS programme for trade liberalisation, as briefly outlined above, looks quite impressive and pregnant with hope. It is destined to regulate on a gradual basis the vast potential ECOWAS market which 'now consists of some 150 million consumers . . .' The programme is designed to contribute to the *Community objective* of a rapid economic development of member states through, *inter alia*, taking advantage of the market potentials which are not available to a single country but which should be generated by the creation of an economic union. For the elimination of barriers to have the desired effect and impact, the programme covers both trade liberalisation proper and trade promotion issues. To this end, the Community would undertake a series of trade promotion measures including market research, establishment of a trade newsletter and bulletin, joint action in product presentation — labelling, packaging and advertising — as well as organisation of trade fairs and seminars. Through such means, prospective traders, exporters and importers would be adequately informed of trade possibilities. The trade promotion aspects of the programme would also enable the Export Promotion Councils and Chambers of Commerce, manufacturers associations in each ECOWAS country 'to maintain closer ties and contacts among themselves for the purpose of disseminating information on trading opportunities to traders and businessmen.' In the connection, the observer status recently granted by the Community to the Federation of West African Chambers of Commerce is a step in the right direction.

However, the implementation of ECOWAS' ambitious trade liberalisation and promotion programme will not be as easy as it appears on paper. Indeed, trade liberalisation programmes initiated by integration schemes among developing countries have generally not lived up to expectations. As Balassa has recently noted, the Central American Common Market (CACM) provides the only case where tariffs of intra-area trade were abolished and a common external tariff was adopted. Although as a result of this trade among the member countries increased rapidly, with the 'average annual rate of growth exceeding 30 per cent between 1961 and 1968,' this development was shortlived. Following the unilateral introduction of fiscal incentives by member countries and the withdrawal of Honduras from the CACM, the rate of increase of intra-area trade among the remaining member countries declined also.

Similarly, in the erstwhile Latin American Free Trade Association, the target date for completely freeing trade was repeatedly postponed and the annual negotiations on tariff reductions, carried out on an item-by-item basis, slowed down after a few years and have made practically no progress in recent years. Although in the Andean Common Market tariff reductions 'are proceeding according to schedule,' quantitative restrictions on intra-area trade have been largely retained and the establishment of the common tariff has been postponed.

## Integration Schemes

This gloomy picture is not different with regard to integration schemes in Africa. In the defunct East African Community, for example, the common tariff was preserved although member countries followed different policies with regard to duty drawbacks on machinery and equipment. Similarly, although the Central African Customs and Economic Union (UDEAC) has a common external tariff, additional taxes may also be imposed by the individual member countries, and differences in tax rates provide a protective element in intra-area trade. In the recently created *Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* (CEAO), agricultural trade has been freed, but tariff reductions on manufactured goods will be subject to future negotiations on an item-by-item basis.

These examples would seem to point to the nature of problems that ECOWAS is likely to encounter in implementing of its trade liberalisation programme. For example, in a purely national context, the tariff can be viewed as a taxation instrument available to national authorities to be deployed in the raising of revenues for the allocation of national economic resources, based solely on national considerations. In that context the tariff carries with it certain degrees of flexibility. It is this degree of national flexibility which regional tariff harmonisation removes from the national authorities, and its removal imposes some element of constraint on their freedom of action, since the common tariff is established by agreement of the partners; likewise, any changes to it can only be by common consent.

The extent to which this could be a serious constraint on national freedom of action depends largely on the consultative machinery that could be established within the institutions of ECOWAS, the speed at which they are able to operate especially in periods of emergency and other crises, and the nature of the safeguards which may be incorporated to meet such emergency situations.

Another hurdle worth considering is the marked difference in the importance and structure of tariffs and quantitative restrictions which existed between the ECOWAS countries before the entry into force of the Treaty. The national differences include varying degree of reliance on tariffs or import restrictions, varying scope and coverage of import charges and fiscal taxes, differences in customs and statistical nomenclatures and the standards of statistical compilation, differences in the basis of customs valuation, differences in trading philosophies and marketing arrangements, as well as in the basis of exchange control arrangements. For the purposes of trade liberalisation, all these disparities have to be harmonised, or at least their existence taken into account.

A characteristic of the majority of the ECOWAS countries is that a significant proportion of their revenue is derived from indirect taxes, mainly import and export duties. Consequently, much importance is attached to customs duties in these countries as a share in their foreign trade and GDP as well as their share in total government revenue. United Nations sources for 1973 indicate large variations in the degree of dependence of ECOWAS countries on customs duties as a source of government

income. In that year (1973) in The Gambia, for example, more than 50 per cent of total government revenue was originating from customs duties. Although this was somewhat less in Benin (49 per cent), Upper Volta (47 per cent), Sierra Leone (37 per cent), and Ivory Coast (35 per cent), custom duties nevertheless constituted a very important source of income to the government in these countries.

It becomes clear, that eliminating intra-Community tariffs and levelling external tariffs would have significantly different economic implications for these countries. Although the ECOWAS Treaty (Article 25) provides for a compensation for loss of revenue due to tariff liberalisation, and proposals which are likely to affect customs receipts would lead to a different preparedness of countries to implement the trade liberalisation programme.

This complicated problem is compounded by the fact that ten out of the sixteen ECOWAS member states are simultaneously members of some other West African regional grouping, such as the CEAO (1973), Mano River Union (1973), and the Cape Verde/Guinea-Bissau Free Trade Area (1976). These groupings also aim to eliminate tariffs on trade and 'sometimes even call for the granting of preferential treatment in their trade.' Even before the CEAO Treaty came into force, intra-trade between its present member states was running at a much higher level than the average level for the rest of ECOWAS.

### The CEAO Question

Progress towards a custom union in West Africa must be viewed against the background of these two disturbing factors — the importance of the differences in the level and structure of customs duties in the Community and the complicating factor of adherence to more than one sub-regional organisation with a separate trade agreement by a number of countries.

For example, both the ECOWAS and the six-nation francophone CEAO (who are also signatories to the former) are presently implementing their separate trade liberalisation programmes whose provisions are evidently incompatible. Though the CEAO's ultimate goal is the establishment of a customs union with a common external tariff over a period of twelve years (as compared to fifteen years of ECOWAS), it does not envisage a



general free trade area within the customs union as is the case for ECOWAS'. The CEAO trade liberalisation scheme calls for a preferential trading area through the use of the Regional Co-operation Tax (TCR). A free trade area will exist only for goods which are raw produce.

The implication of the co-existence of the two liberalisation schemes of ECOWAS and CEAO becomes evident in practical terms, after the two customs unions (ECOWAS' and CEAO's) have been established. As the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS has recently explained, the same product, as for example, canned beer, would be traded within CEAO countries under the TCR preferential treatment, and be subjected to the agreed TCR import duty rate, while in ECOWAS, it would carry no import charges as long as 'it meets the ECOWAS origin requirement'. This would no doubt result in an unsatisfactory situation within ECOWAS. And also the relatively advanced stage of CEAO trade liberalisation scheme would pose some crucial problems for the development of ECOWAS.

#### No Significant Headway?

Although information about the extent to which member states have so far complied with the regulations for a duty standstill is not immediately available, there is much evidence to suggest that the implementation of the trade liberalisation programme is not making significant headway. For example, the questionnaire prepared and despatched by the Executive Secretariat in October 1980 to all member states to

enable the Community to assess the effect of the trade liberalisation scheme on member states which belong to both ECOWAS and CEAO and also to facilitate the formulation of measures to be taken to protect priority industries within the Community was not given due attention. And all the effort by the Secretariat 'through writing and personal contacts to have the replies to this questionnaire . . . have proved futile.' Yet for both political and economic reasons, the ECOWAS approach to trade liberalisation should be compatible with that of the sub-groupings which also involve some member countries. Similarly, the attempt harmonised customs documents of ECOWAS as a prerequisite for a smooth application of the trade liberalisation programme has not been encouraging. For quite a long time none of the new customs documents 'has been effectively implemented by any Member State.'

On the whole, the rate of implementation of the Community policies and measures relating to the trade liberalisation programme leaves much to be desired. Although these teething problems, particularly the inordinate delay in responding to Community demands, are not entirely unexpected in an international organisation of this size and variety, there is nevertheless the need for greater determination and the requisite political goodwill by member states directed towards the achievement of the objectives of the Community's trade liberalisation scheme. Undoubtedly, effective implementation of trade liberalisation can give a valuable stimulus to investment, stimulate measures of co-operation in production, and generally assist to develop other measures to expand production.

#### Steps to Monetary Union

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[Text] ONE OF THE principal aims of the Economic Community of West African States is to promote more trade between member countries, which would help to give them greater independence, as a group, *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world. There are a variety of hindrances to this trade at present, such as poor trans-border transport and communication links between the 16 countries and a variety of tariff and non-tariff barriers; these problems are already being tackled in various ways. Another difficulty is the proliferation of

currencies and of restrictions and controls upon those currencies when they move into transactions involving foreign exchange. Obviously buying and selling — and investing — would be easier if there were to be one currency throughout the ECOWAS area: such a monetary union is among the ultimate objectives of ECOWAS.

It may be significant that the average level of trade between those ECOWAS members who also belong to the *Union Monétaire Ouest Africaine*, that is all those who use the CFA franc as their

national currency, is higher than the overall average level of intra-ECOWAS trade.

At present most of the currencies of the ECOWAS members are convertible, if at all, either among themselves or into other currencies, only with considerable difficulty and delay, apart from the CFA franc (as convertible as the French franc to which it is tied) and the Liberian dollar (as convertible as the US dollar). The first step towards a simpler monetary regime within the Community would have to be a harmonisation of all these exchange controls and restrictions on movement of money. In most cases these restraints are based on the national government's policies to prevent national balances of payments getting too seriously out of equilibrium and the policies adopted may sometimes be influenced as much by political theories as by economic realities; in some cases the imbalances, too, may owe more to political decisions than to the financing demands of economic development.

Once exchange controls and restrictions have been harmonised it will be easier to set about dismantling them. A report prepared by the International Monetary Fund identifies three stages to monetary co-operation.

(a) The first involves establishing a convertibility agreement under which the participating countries agree to exchange and use freely the currencies of all members in regional transactions. Under such an agreement, countries can continue to issue their own currencies and to maintain exchange rate arrangements of their choice. Cross rates between regional currencies will continue to reflect the rates prevailing for intervention currencies in the major exchange markets.

Such a convertibility agreement would reduce uncertainty about foreign exchange transactions related to regional payments and can be expected to bring benefits to the region in the form of improved prospects for intraregional trade and investment in the medium to long term.

It might at this point be worth remembering what *West Africa* said in commenting upon a paper by Professor F. A. Hayek on *Choice of Currency* (March 1, 1976). "Professor Hayek urges that legal tender laws should be repealed and all currencies should be allowed to circulate freely so that people could choose for themselves what kind of money they were prepared to accept in payment for goods and services."

"It might make life a little bit difficult for a while sorting out pockets of pounds, and Zaires, or even Krungerrand and sovereigns, but people would fairly quickly establish the relative values of different currencies . . ."

Such freedom would, of course throw a searching light on some currencies, if a government by its policies allows its "official" currency to become too lowly valued it could find that money is being used for little apart from paying taxes and might find it hard to get people to work for it if they were paid in the "national" currency.

b) The IMF's second, more formal, stage involves establishing a partial monetary union in which the participating countries agree to adhere to the same exchange rate regime and to set fixed exchange rates between their currencies. A partial monetary union would necessarily entail a diminution of the autonomy of individual countries in the conduct of economic policy [for example, in printing more currency notes to meet budgetary deficits]. From the standpoint of individual countries within the region, other "costs" could be that for some of these countries the need to co-ordinate and harmonise financial policies may limit the ability of countries to pursue policies of their own choice, thereby constraining their ability to promote economic growth.

This may be viewed as inevitable in terms of the quest for economic integration, but it may warrant the setting up of a compensation scheme for the benefit of countries which suffer the negative consequences during the move toward integration — another duty for the ECOWAS Fund?

(c) The ultimate form of monetary co-operation is a full monetary union in which a single currency is issued by a central monetary authority for all member countries. Exchange rate risks are necessarily eliminated for regional transactions, and trade and capital flows within the region are facilitated by the removal of all financial barriers.

A full monetary union is clearly a long way into ECOWAS' future; consider for example how slowly the European Economic Community is moving towards this avowed aim, though it is likely that ECOWAS will not take as long as the EEC, it has already overtaken the EEC in drafting a Common Customs Nomenclature.

One major step towards easing financial transactions within the Community would

be greater use of the West African Clearing House facilities (*West Africa*, February 23, 1981). Unfortunately, it has to be admitted that at present the system is not working as smoothly as it might, which discourages potential users. The delays, which occur at various levels in the system, can mean that final settlements take three, or more, months, thus undermining some of the value and saving and avoidance of exchange risks which should be enjoyed. Part of the problem here is, undoubtedly, because of communications difficulties and

perhaps the ECOWAS Telecommunications Project will help to overcome much of this — it should also help to build links between commercial banks in the Com-

munity. A greater effort to educate bankers at all levels to the service which the WACH can provide would, also, probably be helpful.

Monetary union is an ideal at which to aim — for the whole world, not just ECOWAS — but first the need is to make the exchange of goods and money easier and ECOWAS is trying to do that in a variety of ways. At present, however, consideration of the possible paths to pursue, and knowledge of the facilities that already exist, is at rather a specialised level. Perhaps if ordinary traders and businessmen and bankers were brought more practically into the process solutions to present problems could be found and adopted more swiftly.

### Funding the Fund

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[Text] STAFF of the ECOWAS Fund are going to the ECOWAS meetings in Cotonou in a reasonably happy state of mind, so far as bankers, and the Fund is a sort of bank, ever can let themselves be happy without feeling that they are tempting fate to produce some financial misfortune.

The main factor in this cheerfulness is the fact that in the past month Ghana has completely paid off all its debts to the ECOWAS Fund: both the hitherto delayed portion of its contribution to the Fund's initial capital call of \$50m. — Ghana's share of that was \$6,449,979 — and its subscription to the Fund's annual budget. What is more the payment was made in a convertible currency, CFA francs. It is not so much receiving the money as such, though of course that does help, that has cheered people up at the ECOWAS Fund as the act of faith which the payment represents, faith both in the ECOWAS idea and faith in Ghana itself and its own future. In general the Fund is reasonably satisfied, taking a realistic view of the present international economic scene, with the way in which members are paying their due contributions, though of course it wishes they were doing even better.

Another cause for a certain quiet pleasure at the ECOWAS Fund is the fact that May 15 sees the opening of tenders submitted to undertake the various parts of the ECOWAS Telecommunications Project.

A recent IMF report commented "Inadequate communications facilities also

play a significant role as an obstacle to intraregional (ECOWAS) trade. Telephone communications within the region have in a number of cases to be channelled through third countries. Besides being difficult to make, intraregional communications are generally extremely expensive. The telegraph and telex network within the region suffers from reliability problems and high costs, while mail is subject to inordinate time delays. Accordingly, placing orders within the region and following up on such orders is costly and time consuming."

A Special Fund for the Telecommunication Project was set up in November 1980 under the management of the ECOWAS Fund. By last autumn the Fund had organised offers of finance totalling more than the estimated cost of the project, but some of these offers were contingent being in the form of national export credit guarantees to finance equipment provided by particular countries. However, unless the combination of tenders accepted for the project — which should be known about mid-July — is very strange the Special Fund should be able to organise the necessary finance fairly easily. The original target to be met was \$35m., but this has since been reduced to \$27m. as certain countries have managed to find their own funding sources for their sections of the project. The Fund has been able to secure promises of some \$13m. on grant as concessionary terms and will provide \$6m. from its own resources

with the remainder coming from credit sources which will depend on the particular tenders selected. Considering that all this has been done in little over a year at a time when there have been mutterings about over-exposure in lending in some directions it is a distinct achievement by the Fund and reflects well upon its own international status and credit worthiness.

The Fund does not itself feel that it meets any unusual obstacles in its international attempts to raise money, just the normal routine hassling that goes on between would-be borrowers and potential lenders over the terms and detailed formalities of agreements when the two sides start out with somewhat different ideas in mind.

One problem which does exercise the Fund is the placing of deposits of its own funds. From one point of view when this money is not being applied to the specific purposes of the ECOWAS Fund it should be lodged in the most profitable reputable market so as to help build up the Fund's resources. In effect this would mean putting the money into the Euromarkets, but the Fund believes that in principle it should hold its money as much as practically possible within the Community even at some sacrifice of income. The Fund believes that the gap between the Community and other potential market places should not be more than three percentage points, which would still give borrowers within the Community a useful advantage.

Unfortunately at present the gap is very much wider but the Fund is inhibited from pressing too hard with its case for a higher interest rate since in most members of the Community interest rates are a political matter being fixed by Governmental decree rather than by market-place pressures of supply and demand. (Some economic theorists have suggested that this sort of artificial interference with market forces inhibits development by reducing incentives to individuals to save and to financial institutes to mobilise savings for onward lending to entrepreneurs). As a compromise the Fund has about two thirds of its deposits in the high-yielding Euromarkets and about a third with institutions in the Community having been able to persuade some to offer improved rates. The Fund feels that by providing some Community institutions with, in effect, extra cash above the resources which they had previously been able to gather those institu-

tions will be more vigorous in lending and helping entrepreneurial development. This it is hoped would lead to more activity, more demand for loans and thus a more vigorous attempt to attract savings for onward lending to entrepreneurs. (This stimulation could perhaps grow into the sort of supply-lending financial practice which it has been suggested helped the rapid industrialisation of Germany and Japan; though this would be to expect a very large oak from a very small acorn). Certainly the Fund's deposits within the Community must be valuable and may indeed do more for future development of both financial institutions and businesses than the fore-gone interest would have.

In addition to its duties to help to promote co-operation and development within the ECOWAS community, the Fund is responsible for compensation to states which suffer loss as a result of changing their tariff rates and regulations to conform to ECOWAS policies or as a result of the location of industries according to ECOWAS policies. So far there have been no claims for compensation; part of the reason is that the steps to modify tariffs which should have started coming into effect over the past year have been delayed by details of interpretation, which are expected to be sorted out at the Cotonou meetings. (ECOWAS might take some consolation over this hiccup in its progress from the following sentences in an informal background report from the European Communities Commission:

"European Commission's 1982 programme for 'the attainment of the Customs Union' reveals a slackening of interest on the part of member countries in adopting legislation to improve the efficiency of the Union and the working of the internal market.

"Although the Community Customs Union was fully extended to the nine member countries in July 1977 (there is a transition period for Greece up to January 1, 1986, the Commission notes that full implementation of the union is still a long way off.

"While a substantial part of customs law is covered by Community legislation, certain areas have still to be harmonised, while the common market remains hampered by frontier checks and formalities and a proliferation of non-tariff barriers.

"The Commission emphasises that the Union is a political as much as an economic

commitment, and is reflected in the willingness of member countries progressively to remove administrative and other barriers.")

The ECOWAS Fund has discovered another role for itself, that of a sort of "marriage broker" for joint ventures. With applications for development assistance being passed on to it from each of the 16

countries of the Community it has amassed a considerable file of worthwhile industrial projects and would be very happy to share the information with any businessmen wanting to get a head start on setting up in the ECOWAS community, which enthusiasts regard as merely the trail-blazer for the African Common Market.

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ARAB FUNDS FOR FRONTLINE STATES REPORTED

London WEST AFRICA in English 24 May 82 pp 1384-85

[Article by Anthony Sylvester]

[Text] THE ANNUAL REPORT for 1981 of the Khartoum-based Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA) published at the end of last month promises more help to frontline African States. "It is envisaged that the Bank's operations in East Africa will increase in the coming years because of the heightened international attention now being concentrated on the region, particularly on the southern African countries," BADEA says.

In 1981 Zimbabwe was helped for the first time with a loan of \$10m. for a road project and Arab commitment of assistance to the country totalled \$128.86m. last year. Zambia was also among the 12 countries receiving aid last year. This year Botswana was one of the three countries benefiting from BADEA loan approvals in the first three months when a total of \$28m. was committed.

By the end of 1981 BADEA had approved just over \$459.6m. in soft loans or grants for 73 projects in 36 non-Arab African countries, since the Bank began operations in 1975. This excludes more than \$214m. disbursed as emergency aid by the sister institution, the Special Arab Aid Fund for Africa whose capital was merged with that of BADEA in 1977.

Generally, the Bank has been trying to cover as many African countries as possible, although low-income and least developed countries have priority. Oil-rich Gabon and Nigeria have received no loans, although qualifying.

The western part of Africa has received more finance, which is explained by the larger population of the region and greater number of underprivileged countries, including the Sahel which alone benefited from 22 per cent of BADEA commitment and about 30 per cent of Arab aid (nearly all in the form of free grants).

BADEA, created by 18 Arab governments with the specific mission of "strengthening friendship and solidarity" between the Arabs and Africans, has been careful not to show any bias in favour of Muslim countries, although it is common knowledge that Arab aid as a whole has tended to do so. Indeed, such institutions as the Islamic Development Bank, almost entirely financed by the Arabs, only helps Muslim countries. Last year a special fund was set up to help Islamic countries, with a capital of \$3,500m. The powerful Saudi Fund for Development, now having a capital of \$7,500m. is also known to be favouring Islamic countries, although substantial aid has been granted to others in Africa as well.

In an analysis of Arab aid BADEA's 1981 report points out that an increasing proportion of it has been going to non-Arab countries. For instance, in 1978, 75 per cent of the disbursement of SDF went to Arab countries, in 1979 and 1980 the shares were respectively 40 and 20 per cent, and the share of African countries soared from 5 per cent in 1979 to 39 per cent in 1980. A similar development was observed in respect of the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development.

## BADEA: Poor Relation

"Africa will from now onwards be one of the regions where (Arab) aid is concentrated", BADEA says. It has been estimated that the oil-rich Arab countries and their agencies together committed a total of \$6,700m. for concessional development aid to non-Arab Africa between 1973 and mid-1981.

With Arab aid agencies generally increasing their capital to a very substantial degree in the past year or so BADEA looks like a poor relation with its subscribed capital of \$738.3m. and net lending power of \$270.6m. by the end of 1981.

The financial position of BADEA is described in its report as "sound but not very comfortable". Given that the subscribed capital has not been increased since 1977 the Report says "the time has come to rebuild . . . resources, a point of view that will be presented in 1982 to the Board of Directors and Board of Governors of the Bank for examination and a decision by 1983 at the latest".

### Projects approved in West Africa

Beneficiary countries in 1981	Population (000's) (1)	GNP per Capita (in \$) (1)	Loans (in \$ m)
Angola	6905	440	10
Benin	3427	250	2.7
Central African R.	1954	290	5
Congo	1498	630	10
Niger	5155	270	5
Sao Tomé and Principe	110	450	5
Senegal	5525	430	0.046

(1) Source: World Bank Atlas, 1980.

The Report points out that hard-pressed Africa has been clamouring for more

assistance of the type supplied by BADEA, whose loans have carried on average an interest rate of 4.5 per cent and grant element of 34 per cent.

Whether the Arab governments will agree to BADEA's plea (and Africa's) will to a certain extent depend on the progress of political co-operation between the Arab and African groups of countries as represented by the League of Arab States and Organisation of African Unity.

## Little Progress Reported

After a hopeful start in March 1977, when the Heads of State and Government of the two communities met for the first time, institutionalising the emergent partnership, little progress has been reported. The main organs of co-operation, including the Standing Commission at the level of the Foreign Ministers, never met after 1978 when a dispute broke out between LAS and OAU over the participation of Egypt. (Perhaps the latest tentative moves towards a rapprochement between Egypt and the other Arab countries may help here.)

In March 1981 the Afro-Arab Committee, a subsidiary organ of the Standing Commission, met in Khartoum, with BADEA and its Tunisian President, Dr. Chedly Ayari, playing a key part in arranging the conference. A series of important resolutions were agreed, including one to adopt a common Afro-Arab economic strategy. But these resolutions must be endorsed by the Standing Commission to be valid. However the Commission has so far not met, although both OAU and LAS in their respective assemblies have recently appealed for Afro-Arab co-operation and institutions to be reactivated.

### Annual Commitments by region 1975-1981

	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		Total (1)	
	in \$ m.	%	in \$ m.	%	in \$ m.	%	in \$ m.	%	in \$ m.	%	in \$ m.	%	in \$ m.	%	in \$ m.	%
West Africa	51.60	72.1	27.80	44.9	40.24	60.7	40.463	59.6	33.60	76.2	27.50	38.2	38.026	50.0	259.229	56.4
East Africa	20.00	27.9	34.00	54.9	26.00	39.3	25.898	38.2	10.47	23.8	44.45	61.8	38.000	50.0	198.818	43.3
Not Specified by Region	—	—	0.10	0.2	—	—	1.509	2.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.609	0.3
Totals	71.60	100	61.90	100	66.24	100	67.87	100	44.07	100	71.95	100	76.026	100	459.656	100

(1) Not including \$214.244m. committed by SAAFA.

ANGOLA

BRIEFS

NEW OIL WELL PRODUCTION--The ninth oil rig of the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company is producing 7,000 barrels of crude oil per day. This is the first oil rig built by the Angolan National Petroleum Company in (Beze Owe) and which was inaugurated last Thursday in Cabinda by the Angolan minister of energy. Production is expected to reach 14,000 barrels per day by the end of the year. [Excerpt] [AB051240 Luanda Domestic Service in French 1100 GMT 5 Jun 82]

CSO: 4719/1024



## EQUATORIAL GUINEA

### PRESIDENT APPEALS TO SPANISH BUSINESSMEN FOR INVESTMENT

Paris AFRICA AFP in English 18 May 82 p 21

[Text] Spanish Study

Madrid, May 15--Equatorial Guinean President Teodoro Obiang Nguema left here today for home after a three-day official visit to Spain, the former colonial power.

Before leaving, Colonel Obiang, who met King Juan Carlos and Prime Minister Juan Calvo Sotelo, said his visit had been "very fruitful", but observers said it had failed to resolve the basic problems undermining relations between the two countries though it had helped to clear up some misunderstandings.

The joint communique gave few details, saying there was a need for a common study of Spanish aid and the state of projects currently in progress, but sources said the aid level of almost 110 million dollars since August 1979 would be maintained at the same level for the next two years.

Talks between Colonel Obiang and officials here notably clarified the status of Spanish aid workers, whom the Malabo Government feared were usurping its own authority. Thus the appointment of three Spanish experts with wide executive powers in the economic and financial fields was rejected.

However, at a press conference yesterday, Colonel Obiang acknowledged that Spain "cannot send money to Guinea for its development without guarantees on the use of that money".

The President's acceptance of Spanish officials in his administration to "study the economic situation in the country" was seen as inevitable, considering his desire to see Spanish private enterprise help in rebuilding a nation shattered by the rule of former dictator Francisco Macias Nguema.

#### Investment Plea

In a short speech on Thursday at a reception hosted by Spanish Foreign Minister Jose Pedro Perez Llorca, Colonel Obiang made an urgent appeal

to the numerous businessmen present. "A country cannot count only on the public sector to ensure its development", he said, asserting that Equatorial Guinea was an "orderly" place and offering investors unspecified guarantees.

However, observers said mutual mistrust persisted, with Madrid considering that its aid is misused, while Malabo suspects Spain of conducting a neo-colonialist policy. But for the moment Equatorial Guinea has no choice of partners. Only Spain is willing to help financially, though France is becoming interested and observers said Malabo could play one off against the other if necessary.

"Spain does a lot in Guinea but can do more still", Colonel Obiang said at the press conference. (A.F.P.)

CSO: 4700/1316

## ETHIOPIA

### RED STAR CAMPAIGN REPORTEDLY 'BEARS FRUIT'

Paris AFRICA AFP in English 11 May 82 p 14

[Text] Addis Ababa, May 11--Some three months after the Ethiopian authorities launched "Campaign Red Star" in war-torn Eritrea, there are signs that efforts to rebuild the northern province's shattered economy are starting to bear fruit.

Operation Red Star was launched at the end of January to end the 20-year war of secession in Eritrea through all-out military action and to reconstruct a local economy that had come to a virtual standstill over the past five years.

The authorities are now reporting tangible successes in at least two major areas linked with the campaign--construction, and relief and rehabilitation.

Reporting from the Eritrean capital Asmara, the Ethiopian news agency said a relief and rehabilitation commission office there had spent more than three million birr (about 1.5 million dollars) to build settlement centres, provide electricity and water supplies and restore abandoned farms.

It said the commission had received a grant of about four million dollars from the U.N. High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) for the resettlement of returning exiles and war-displaced.

#### Farm Areas

Aligidir, in western Eritrea west of Tessenei near the Sudanese border, and Tekererit to the east, near Agordat, are two farm areas where the commission is reportedly concentrating its efforts and resources.

The agency said 2,000 people are to be resettled in Aligidir over three years, and housing facilities, offices and garages to accommodate 500 settlers were already near completion, another 2.5 million dollars had been earmarked to start a major farm resettlement project at Tekererit, it said.

A construction task force set up under the campaign has spent a further 1.5 million dollars on rebuilding and reopening hospitals in Agordat, Keren, Afabet, Massawa and Gejeret, the news agency also reported.

Among hospitals said to have been brought back into operation in Asmara was former United States communications base at Kagneu.

Roads and airstrips have also been repaired in various parts of Eritrea as part of the first phase of a drive by the construction task force, the agency said.

It quoted an official as saying that phase two, to cost an estimated two million dollars, would soon be launched to restore electricity and water supply lines in several towns, including the Red Sea port of Massawa. (A.F.P.)

CSO: 4700/1318

## DIFFICULTIES IN HOLDING DOWN PRICES AT MARKETS NOTED

Libreville L'UNION in French 6 Apr 82 p 1

[Text] Despite the strong measures taken by the authorities to suppress the practice of illegally raising the prices of basic necessities in the major markets of the capital city, merchants continue to resist the price schedule. Whether rightly or wrongly, they think this schedule is 2 years old and must now be adapted to current economic conditions in the country. But the price controllers cannot simply shrug their shoulders in the face of this situation, which has been created by those who "thirst for fat profits," as they were called by one price control agent last Friday at Mont-Bouet market, where a routine inspection was held. The controllers did not come unprepared, for they brought along with them 10 policemen to help persuade recalcitrant merchants to get back in line.

It will be recalled that on 2 February the head of state issued a decree freezing the prices on basic necessities in the Libreville markets and major marketing centers in the interior. Inspection teams were quite active in the previous 3 months, and there are going to be even more of them to insure that the president's decree is obeyed.

As usual, the inspectors seized several kilograms of foodstuffs from several uncooperative merchants who are trying to thwart the efforts of the authorities.

But the news that came to light during this inspection was that wholesalers are engaging in a new practice. In effect, inspectors were told that big truck-loads of produce were being unloaded very early in the morning, around 0500 or even 0400, and the cargo (primarily bananas and manioc) was being sold at prices that do not correspond with the price schedule. This is very easy to do, since there are no inspectors to be seen in the markets at that hour of the day. These wholesalers who are evading the price controls are believed at this time to be the main obstacle to enforcement of the price schedules for bananas and manioc.

9516

CSO: 4719/893

## BRIEFS

NEW PETROLEUM DEPOSITS--The ministry of mining and petroleum announces that the Elf-Gabon Corporation has just made two oil discoveries in the region offshore from central Gabon, in fields it holds jointly with the Elf-Aquitaine Corporation (SNEA). The first discovery was made at the Nord Marine 1 extension of the Gonelle well, near the Gonelle field, where oil was found in the Batanga sandstone at a depth of 43 meters; the second was made at the Ouest Marine 1 well at Mandaros, near the Mandaros field, where oil-impregnated sandstone was found at a depth of 11 meters. As a result of production tests, it has been estimated that each of these wells has the potential to produce 100 cubic meters per day. [Text] [Libreville L'UNION in French 3-4 Apr 82 p 1] 9516

OUTDATED GOVERNMENT STAMPS--Makaya Commentary--I made a discovery the other day while reading through a document of one of the big ministries. The names of individuals on the document headings and especially the stamps were still those of people who have long since moved to other departments. I noticed the same thing with respect to a large government agency that had long ago changed its initials in response to the changing needs of the modern world. Such examples abound, and everyone has seen instances of it in his own ministry. What seems so ridiculous in this letterhead paper business is that quite often we simply forget to change things to reflect Gabonese independence. It is as if many people here have failed to notice the change. I realize that administrators do not have an easy task, but just between us, to keep using right up to the present day the letterhead paper of an entity that has been dead for over a decade is really a gross failure to keep up with events. To disseminate documents that mention cities like Lyon, Marseilles and Lille shows extraordinary negligence. Let's get our information processing up to date as rapidly as possible. [Text] [Libreville L'UNION in French 6 Apr 82 p 1] 9516

CSO: 4719/893

# POLITICAL ISSUES FACING NEW GOVERNMENT NOTED

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3381, 24 May 82 p 1361

[Article by Arnold Hughes]

[Text]

PRESIDENT Jawara has announced his new Cabinet and also the names of the eight nominated MPs, chosen to represent special interests or to enable the Head-of-State to bring into Parliament individuals with exceptional skills. In addition to the elected and nominated MPs, five Gambian Chiefs, elected by a gathering of Chiefs at Farafenni, complete the membership of the new House of Representatives.

There were several expected changes to the government as well as a number of surprises. The dismissal of Vice President Assan Camara was widely predicted. His relationship with the President has been increasingly strained in recent months; his critics going so far as to accuse him of covertly supporting the Independent candidates in his home region of Upper River Division. Regardless of the truth of these accusations, his failure to prevent the election of two 'rebel' PPP MPs in the Upper River must have sealed his political fate. He now reverts to the back benches.

Another expected change was the departure from the Justice Ministry of M. L. Saho, newly elected MP for Banjul Central. Presumably his move to the Local Government Ministry, rather than to the expected post of Vice President, caused him to resign his new office almost immediately. He too joins the back benches.

Other demoted ministers are I. A. Kelepha-Samba and Seini Singhateh, who lose the Works and Communications and Agriculture portfolios; and Saihou Sabally who gives up the prestigious Finance Ministry for that of Agriculture.

The most important and rapid promotion has been that of Bakary Darbo, now appointed Vice President. It was only last autumn that he was made a nominated MP and given the Information portfolio. In the elections he retained Kiang West for the PPP, a seat previously held by his predecessor at the Ministry of Information. Darbo is an unusually well-qualified person; a language graduate, experienced administrator and former Gambian High Commissioner in Dakar, his skills are clearly needed in the forthcoming negotiations with the Senegalese on the protocols of Confederation. The Gambian Vice President is also expected to play an important part in the new confederal assembly. Many feel that Darbo is being groomed for the Presidency itself: apart from his professional attainments he has the added advantage of being a Mandinka.

There are five new members of the Cabinet. The Governor of the Central Bank, Sherif Sisay, is the new Minister of Finance, a not unexpected move. Sisay was a founder member of the PPP and a former minister. The vacated post of Minister of Justice and Attorney General has been filled by a barrister and former magistrate, Fafa M'Bai. (He also has a double first in Politics and History from the University of Keele.) M'Bai's appointment was also widely anticipated as was the promotion of L. B. M'Boge, who moves up from being Parliamentary Secretary to Minister of Works and Communications. Since his dismissal from the Cabinet in 1977, M'Boge has been quietly working

towards his political rehabilitation. The two unexpected promotions are those of A. A. N'Jie and Kebba Jawara. N'Jie won Serrekunda West from the NCP but despite being newly elected to Parliament he has been made Minister of Education. Kebba Jawara, a relative of the President, has held Upper Fulladu West for the PPP since the mid-sixties and now replaces Saho at the Local Government Ministry.

A number of ministers retain their portfolios. As expected, former Inspector General of Police, A. S. M'Boob, remains the Interior Minister; Omar Jallow stays on at the Environment and Water Resources Ministry; and, somewhat unexpectedly, Lamin Jabang remains at External Affairs (expected to go to Bakary Darbo).

There are a number of other important new appointments at the level of Parliamentary Secretary. Dr. Lamin Saho, who defeated the NCP leader Sheriff Dibaba, becomes Parliamentary Secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture. Two women are also made Parliamentary Secretaries: Louise N'Jie, a nominated MP is appointed to Health; and the country's first elected woman MP, Niymassata Sanneh, goes to Education.

These changes in the government reflect several concerns of the President. Firstly, they bring in new men and women, and so help repudiate the charge that the PPP leadership is unchanging. Secondly, people of talent and professional experience have been promoted, a necessary move in the context of the newly established confederation with Senegal. Thirdly, Gambian women have been given partial political recognition, in keeping with party Congress resolutions as well as the wish of the Head-of-State. Fourthly, they have resulted in a younger Cabinet; an important change reflecting the need to placate youthful public opinion. Fifthly, the composition of the new government reflects the President's concern to bring in qualified outsiders — three ministers and two Parliamentary Secretaries are nominated MPs. Finally, the ethnic balance is tipped even more in the direction of the Mandinka. There are nine Mandinka, three Wolof and two Fula (one albeit 'Wolofised') in the new Cabinet. Unlike the post-1977 elections Cabinet, the new government has no Jola or Serahuli representative.

Having reconstituted his Cabinet to reflect popular wishes to some extent, President Jawara faces a number of important political issues, both at the party and

governmental levels. A clear indication of his policy can be gleaned from his long address to the recently held PPP National Congress.

For the PPP, it must learn from the lesson of July 30, 1981, and the success of the Independent PPP candidates in the General Elections. The PPP, according to the President, must "... reorganise and rejuvenate itself ... and ... must not deteriorate into an election-winning machinery once every five years. Instead it has to be ... a Party of the majority representing the interests of the majority (especially the rural population) ... and ... must advance from permanent campaigns for election victory to permanent political education and dialogue with the people."

More urgent are some of the issues facing the government. All the skills available to the new Cabinet will be needed in the next few weeks to handle the negotiation and implementation of the protocols of Confederation. It is known that the Senegalese have already prepared their position and are anxious to reach a speedy settlement. The Gambians come to the talks from a position of relative weakness; not only are the Senegalese the dominant partner but their negotiating team is probably better qualified and experienced. The Gambian delegation must avoid making too many concessions, and where concessions are made, sufficient transition time must be obtained as well as adequate compensation for integrating tariffs and opening up the Gambian market to Senegalese goods. Particularly worrying is the prospect of a 50-60 per cent jump in the cost-of-living in The Gambia if Senegalese tariff levels are adopted. The future of The Gambia's infant industries also seems uncertain if exposed to competition from Senegal's more developed and export-orientated manufacturing sector. Government revenues, which rely very heavily on import duties and the re-export trade, must also be protected from the effects of fiscal harmonisation.

The State of Emergency is another political issue for the new government. A full return to political normality must await the lifting of the emergency legislation in August but the trials of some 780 detainees will probably take longer. Both the mounting costs of trials and detentions, as well as the adverse publicity surrounding them, indicate a need for speedier action. Perhaps after the trial of opposition leaders



Sheriff Dibba and Pap Cheyassin Secka, a combination of executive clemency and faster judicial processing will resolve this politically embarrassing problem.

The President also dwelt on the associated evils of corruption and tribalism in his address to Congress. An 'Asset Evaluation Exercise', presently under consideration by the President, would be immensely popular — with the general public at least

— and would dovetail in with recent Presidential action in Senegal in this matter. Tribalism was singled out as . . . 'potentially the most destabilising factor' . . . in political life and ' . . . the worst evil and the greatest corruption . . . ' Though guarded in his reference, it is believed that the President was referring to the misuse of public office among the Wolof-dominated civil service in Banjul.

CSO: 4700/1316

## GAMBIA

### BRIEFS

**TASKS OF GOVERNMENT**--The new Gambian government has said it will continue the overall policies of its predecessor. Central to these is the Second Five Year Development Plan, which maintains the earlier emphasis on rural development. With vivid recollections of last July's 'youth rebellion' the government will be anxious to succeed in its rural development programme in order to keep young people on the land and away from the urban areas, where unemployment and inadequate living conditions spawn political sedition. As part of its concern with young people the government will soon introduce a National Youth Service Scheme for 18-25 year olds. The next five years will be a challenging period both for government and Parliament. The eradication of the causes of rebellion, the uncertainties as well as the opportunities of confederation, the difficult economic climate; all will test the ability and integrity of legislators and ministers alike. The Gambia has always possessed a strong sense of realism and this, together with the new talent available in parliament, will, it is hoped, enable the country to fully restore its political reputation and overcome these pressing social and economic problems.

[Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3381, 24 May 82 p1360]

CSO: 4700/1316

GHANA

PAPER COMPARES SOUTH AFRICAN, ISRAELI POLICIES

AB070917 Accra Domestic Service in English 0700 GMT 7 Jun 82

[Press review]

[Excerpt] The GHANAIAN TIMES says South African and Israeli expansionist policies are a serious threat to the survival of the Third World and must not be seen in isolation. The weekend Israeli bombing of Beirut, for what the Israelis call relation to an assassination attempt on the Israeli ambassador to London, left 200 civilians dead. The PLO has denied involvement, and so have other radical Palestinian groups. The TIMES says the assassination attempt can be the work of an extremist British political group or a lone gunman to retaliate for alleged Israeli supply of missiles to Argentina in the Falkland conflict.

The TIMES says Britons cannot be happy about Israel's acts of ingratitude to Britain which fathered the birth of the Zionist state [words indistinct] to bring the first wave of Jews to Palestine and provided her with arms which pushed out Arabs from Palestine. Emotions are high among Britons because of the Falklands war and extremist British groups or an individual could have carried out the assassination attempt in vengeance.

The paper says Israeli attacks on Lebanon reflects Zionist-apartheid collaboration which can be likened to South Africa's air attacks on Angola. Just as Israel seizes upon any event to attack to reverse the Palestinian struggle, so does South Africa find pretext to attack Angola to reverse the gains of SWAPO. The paper says while imperialist forces use Israel to destabilize the Middle East, they use South Africa to destabilize Africa. The TIMES says it is thus not for nothing that the military provocations which Israel and South Africa carry out against Arabs and African nations coincide. Therefore Afro-Arab solidarity must be strengthened.

CSO: 4700/1330

GHANA

GOVERNMENT DRAWING UP DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM

AB070837 Accra Domestic Service in English 0700 GMT 7 Jun 82

[Text] The apparent slackening of the tempo of the revolution is to ensure that power is not transferred from a set of corrupt people to another. With many years of exploitative and extortionist structures, Ghanaians should really understand the enormous problems of the country and overhaul it to create suitable conditions for all. This was stated by the secretary for youth and sports, Mr Zaya Yeebo, at a rally organized by the Teshie branch of the 4 June Movement.

He announced that the government is in the process of creating new structures for trade and distribution to ensure a smooth and uninterrupted flow of goods to the people. The government is drawing up its priorities in the import sector to eliminate the old practice of importing items to the advantage of the privileged few. The secretary appealed to parents not, as he put it, to use children as agents of trade malpractices.

In his address, a member of the interim National Coordinating Committee for People's Defense Committees, (Mr Neayen), emphasized that the 4 June Movement will continue to play a positive role in the revolution as an expression of solidarity with the working people in an outright rejection of exploitation and social inequalities. He said the country needs a united front of all working people to face the enormous problems facing it. (Mr Neayen) made it clear that 31 December is not the end of the revolution. This is because there is a strong and well-organized minority of rich people whose aim now is to regain their past glories.

CSO: 4700/1330

GUINEA

SEKOU TOURÉ'S SWEARING IN

Paris AFRICA AFP in English 18 May 82 p 16

[Text] Dakar, May 15--Ahmed Sekou Touré, who has ruled Guinea since its independence from France 24 years ago, was sworn in for his fourth-seven-year term of office Friday after winning a fraction under 100% of the vote in a presidential election earlier this week.

Conakry Radio, heard here, said Mr. Sekou Touré, who is 60, got all but eight of the 3,063,700 votes cast in the poll, in which he was the only candidate. The official results were announced Friday by the new 600-member Supreme Constitutional Assembly, which also adopted a new national constitution, details of which have not yet been disclosed.

In his inaugural speech, the President called for the liberation of all Africa in order to build its "genuine unity" based on an African economic community and to bring about the "total rehabilitation of African man".

He said Guinea was embarking on a "holy war of socio-economic development".

The swearing-in, which was attended by President Joao Bernardo Vieira of neighbouring Guinea-Bissau, coincided with the 35th anniversary of the founding of the ruling Guinean Democratic Party. (A.F.P.)

CSO: 4700/1316

## UNITED NATIONS MAN HELD 'HOSTAGE'

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 5 May 82 p 24

[Text]

POLICE had to be called to Nairobi's Igoji House yesterday to free a United Nations official detained by over 100 angry refugees.

Mr. B. W. Leber, the UN refugee programme officer in Nairobi, was held for over two hours by the refugees who said they would not let him go until they were paid their monthly allowances.

Mr. Leber made several attempts to get out of the building which houses the Joint Refugee Services of Kenya (JRSK) but he was blocked in by a wall of refugees.

He then warned the refugees that he would have to call the police if they did not let him leave the JRSK offices.

But the refugees said they would not let him go until he ordered the JRSK to pay them their allowances.

Refugees who are single get 150/- and those who are married get 300/- a month for food, clothing, housing and other expenses.

Before the police intervened, Mr. Leber said that all those that were registered would be paid their allowances. "The ones entitled to the allowances will get their money today," he said.

Mr. Leber said the JRSK was a national organisation and that all he was trying to do was to help out. He said the UN channelled some 400,000/- a month to pay allowances to some 4,000 refugees in Kenya.

A few minutes later police arrived with batons and escorted Mr. Leber out of the building. But Mr. Leber was again blocked when trying to enter his car and police had to clear away refugees.

By late afternoon yesterday none of the refugees had been paid. Some said that they had not been paid allowances for the past six months.

Mr. Leber told the *Nation* that the refugees were exaggerating their problems.

He said the trouble this year was because his organisation had identified about 120 cases which no longer deserved allowances.

CSO: 4700/1291

## STATE ENACTS CASH CLAMPDOWN

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 14 May 82 p 3

[Text]

ALL Ministries have been ordered to stop using overdrawn votes.

The directive was issued by the head of accountancy services, Mr. J.W. Njoroge, who said Government services were being financed through short term borrowing.

Mr. Njoroge was addressing Western Provincial and district heads of department in Kakamega yesterday on the new accounting procedures.

He directed district accounts sections to stop passing vouchers from Ministries that had finished their allocations for the current financial year.

Mr. Njoroge expressed concern on how field officers were spending money allocated to them.

He called on the officers to plan expenditure properly.

Because of the economic crisis facing the country, he said the Government had resorted to short term borrowing to keep services running.

He said the controllers of Government funds at various levels should control finances strictly and operate within the resources allocated.

Mr. Njoroge advised the controllers to notify their permanent secretaries three months in advance whenever funds in various votes were low.

He directed the provincial and district heads of department to stop the affected services until they received greenlight from permanent secretaries.

Permanent secretaries came under fire for presenting unrealistic estimates to the Treasury. They were blamed for the allocation of insufficient funds to Government departments at district and provincial levels. Mr. Njoroge cited an example of some Ministries which had asked the Treasury for inadequate funds for employees' salaries.

"This is pathetic and will not be allowed under the current accounting system. Should such a situation occur, workers will be declared redundant," he warned.

The accounts head warned accountants they would be held responsible if they paid vouchers from overdrawn accounts. Any accountant who disrupted the system would be sacked, Mr. Njoroge added.

"Accountants are financial advisers to their respective heads", he said.

Present at the occasion was the personal assistant to Western PC Mr. Silvester Tororey and all District Commissioners in the province.

Mr. Njoroge is scheduled to hold similar briefings in Kisumu and Nakuru.

—KNA

CSO: 4700/1291

## FOREIGN MINISTER UPSET WITH LABELING PRACTICES

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 6 May 82 p 5

[Text]

AN agreement under which Kenya Cannery Ltd. was allowed to market Kenyan pineapples overseas under the label of Del. Monte, is being reviewed, Foreign Minister Dr. Robert Ouko said yesterday.

Dr. Ouko said it was very embarrassing for Kenyan pineapples to be sold abroad indicated as if they were not Kenyan. He said he was once personally embarrassed when he was opening a Kenyan trade fair overseas and he was asked about the pineapples.

Dr. Ouko was delivering a lecture at the University of Nairobi on: "Intra-African Trade, Problems and Prospects for the Future".

The Minister said Kenyan small-scale pineapple growers would be allowed to grow and export pineapples under Kenyan labels.

Describing trade between African countries as pathetic, Dr. Ouko emphasised that African nations must correct the situation in which their economies are appendages of Western capitalist countries.

Dr. Ouko said: "Africa is not a poor continent, it might be under-developed but not poor."

He said Africa had to develop

the capacity to develop her own resources adding that the capacity included the knowledge and the political will to make the decisions.

He said African economies were primary commodity-oriented which retained them in the vicious circle of producing raw materials and importing manufactured goods from the industrialised North.

The Minister observed that if political liberation in Africa was difficult, economic liberation was going to be even worse.

The prices of manufactured goods are determined in the North, he said, adding that worse still, the prices of raw materials of the primary commodities produced in the South are determined in the North.

"The quarrel about the establishment of a new economic order is our struggle to change this unfair situation," the Minister said.

He outlined a series of attempts by developing countries to correct the trade imbalance between the North and the South from the Lome Convention to the recently signed Preferential Trade Agreement in Zambia.

On the demise of the East African Community, the Minister said the collapse of the Community meant the death of the highest export market for Kenyan goods.



# SOVIETS 'WERE NOT DENIED VISAS'

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 28 Apr 82 p 24

[Article by Constantine Owuor]

[Text]

THE Kenya Government yesterday strongly denied refusing to issue visas to the Soviet Union delegation at the fifth session of the UN Commission on Human Settlements, now meeting at Nairobi's Kenyatta International Conference Centre.

Environment and Natural Resources Minister Peter Oloo Aringo told the delegates that the Kenya Government authorised its Embassy in Moscow to issue visas to the Soviet delegation on April 24.

"The question of the Kenya Government refusing to issue visas to the Soviet delegation does not therefore arise."

He regretted, however, the misunderstanding and the inconvenience that might have been caused to delegates, and particularly to Soviet delegates, to the fifth session.

He informed the delegates that

## Informed

the Soviet delegation "had not applied for visas since April 24 and that they have twice been informed by Kenya Embassy officials in Moscow of the availability of visas".

The question of the absence of the Soviet delegation was raised on Monday by a delegate from West Germany immediately the meeting was opened by Mrs. Imelda Marcos, Philippines' Minister for Human Settlements. Mrs. Marcos then postponed the meeting until this morning for the Bureau of the Commission to find a solution to the problem.

The German Democratic Republic delegate said the Russian delegation had been denied visas by the Kenyan Embassy in Moscow and he asked for the postponement of the meeting.

His proposal was supported by the East European bloc countries.

CSO: 4700/1291

## WAMWERE HITS AT TRADE UNIONISTS

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 3 May 82 p 10

[Text]

TRADE union leaders on Saturday received a verbal lashing from the Nakuru North MP Mr. Koigi wa Wamwere for allegedly accepting "chai" (bribes) from employers so that they do not pursue workers problems.

The MP made the accusation when he addressed workers in Nakuru during the May Day celebrations.

Asking trade unionists to have some integrity and refuse to be bribed by employers, Mr. Wamwere said amid shouts of "toboa" (disclose) that some trade union leaders had completely failed to represent workers' complaints and MPs have had to shoulder their (unionists') responsibilities in Parliament.

North Eastern Provincial Commissioner Benson Kaaria, has emphasised that the Government should establish small-scale industries at Garissa town in order to solve unemployment in the Province.

Addressing a mammoth May Day rally at Garissa Primary School, Mr. Kaaria said that the present Presidential Unemployment Commission will be presented with proposals on unemployment facing hundreds of school leavers within the three districts Mandera, Wajir and Garissa when it tours the area.

Kitui District Commissioner Moses Okal has vowed to stop importation of unskilled workers from other parts of the country into the district.

Addressing a May Day rally at Kitui Central Primary School, Mr. Okal said casual workers and subordinate staff should be recruited locally to curb unemployment in the area.

He suggested that an unemployment committee in the district be launched to avoid favouritism while recruiting the workers.

And in Embu, Eastern Provincial Commissioner John Etemesi appealed to workers and employers to identify themselves with the economic development

of the country and ensure that economic problems were solved peacefully.

Mr. Etemesi, who addressed workers and employers at Embu's Moi Stadium to mark the Labour Day, said good industrial relations were paramount in an economic set-up.

In Kericho District acting District Commissioner Peter Lagat has warned trade unionists against uttering statements which could confuse workers and make them think the Government was not looking into their welfare.

Kiambu District Commissioner Mohamed Haji has advised workers in Thika to maintain industrial peace.

Addressing a mammoth rally at Thika stadium Mr. Haji told the workers that under the current economic constraints the country could not afford industrial unrest and wildcat strikes.

CSO: 4700/1291

SUPERVISOR 'WAS HELD HOSTAGE'

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 30 Apr 82 p 1

[Text]

ABOUT 600 Mumias Sugar Co. workers held their supervisor hostage over a management-labour dispute, an Assistant Minister in the Office of the President, Mr. Davidson Kuguru, told Parliament yesterday.

Mr. Kuguru said the company asked for police intervention when Mr. Paul Rono was held hostage by employees demanding their dues as a condition for his release.

Earlier, Lurambi South MP Wasike Ndombi wanted to know why police shot a factory worker, Mr. Francis Shikwangwa Nambwaya, dead and seriously injured three others on April 6.

Mr. Ndombi said police also beat up a butcher, Mr.

Nyawanga, who was not a worker at the factory.

Mr. Ndombi wanted to know what action the Government had taken to discipline the policemen concerned and if the authorities would pay compensation to the family of the deceased and to the other victims.

Mr. Kuguru said the three workers were injured during a riot that ensued after the police succeeded in getting Mr. Rono released. "I am

not aware that police beat up a Mr. Nyawanga," Mr. Kuguru said.

He added that 14 people had since been charged with inciting people to violence and that an inquest file into Mr. Nambwaya's death had been opened. The matter was likely to come before court as an inquest under Section 387 of the Criminal Procedure Code, Chapter 74, Mr. Kuguru said.

Further discussions of this matter in this House will be prejudicial to the proceedings before court," Mr. Kuguru added.

Mr. Ndombi asked the Assistant Minister when Mr. Rono was held hostage and when the police arrived. "I do not know," said Mr. Kuguru. Mr. Ndombi said the workers would not have held Mr. Rono from 6 a.m. to 4 p.m. without harming him if they had been violent.

"Holding someone hostage is not the right way of demanding wages," Mr. Kuguru replied.

Wundanyi MP Mashengu wa Mwachofi asked if killing workers was the right way of solving a dispute. But Mr. Kuguru said the workers were not entitled to hold their supervisor hostage.

CSO: 4700/1291

## NORTH EAST PROVINCE SHOWING PROGRESS

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 30 Apr 82 p 13

[Article by Kauli wa Mwembe: "The Foresaken Area We All Know About"]

[Text]

BECAUSE most Kenyans have never had the opportunity to see our North-Eastern Province, and because many of us have varied imaginations of what the province is like, we are taking all of you on a tour of "Around NEP in 3 Days".

When most Kenyans hear about NEP what immediately comes to their minds is some semi-desert area with scattered bushes which harbour shiftas.

Many others imagine NEP to be an area with hardly anything to eat and with no organised shopping centres. But most of these views are not totally true.

And now one man is "very" busy struggling hard to change the original image of NEP. He also wants to change what people think about the province.

This person who is determined to give the area a facelift and a different public view-point is the North-Eastern Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Benson N. Kaaria.

His sincere efforts to bring about some change there were made evident during an extensive three-day tour of the province which started in Nairobi and ended in Mandera, 1,001 km away from the capital. Mandera is in the horn of Africa and only about one kilometre from the Somali town of Bulahawa. The tour was from April 14 to 16, 1982.

Perhaps one remarkable thing during the tour was that some elders from the area made frantic efforts and sought an audience with the *Nation* to express their heartfelt gratitude to their PC, Mr. Kaaria, for what he had managed to accomplish during the short period he has been there as the provincial chief.

The delegation included Haji Ismail Sheikh Ali, former chairman to the Mandera County Council and current chairman to the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims, Mandera branch, Mr. A.A. Abdulla, the clerk to the Mandera County Council, and Sheikh Aden Mursal, a committee member to the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims.

"We feel blessed to have a PC who visits us even in the remotest parts of the province regularly, something which never used to happen, said Sheikh Ali. In the past, he explained, one could spend a whole year without seeing a PC.

As for the clerk to the council, Mr. Abdulla, he noted that Kaaria had brought some nine outstanding achievements since he became PC for NEP:

- The NEP Agricultural Show at Garissa, which is ranked among the best five in the country, had become a reality. NEP people now have an annual event of their own where they are able to identify themselves with the rest of Kenyans.

- For the first time in the history of the province, technical schools and village polytechnics are being built there.

- Even remote manyattas are beginning to receive Government attention through the efforts of the PC.

- In the past, Government officials used to tell NEP people, "we have come to help you," but Mr. Kaaria once asked what the civil servants meant by *we* and *you*, since all Kenyans were one thing. Having got no satisfactory answer, he banned the use of the phrase.

● There is peace in the province due to stepped up campaigns to wipe out shiftas and general banditry. Thanks to the police, army, air force, the anti-shifta squad and the home guards who have been co-operative with the PC and other civil servants in fighting out the menace.

● For the first time since independence, a PC in the area arranged with the Directorate of

Personnel Management in Nairobi to have 200 Somali youths interviewed in Garissa for various careers.

The boys and girls were interviewed and given priority in such training fields as agriculture, livestock, water engineering, public health, nursing, afforestation and public works.

● There is now general awareness about President Moi's emphasis on the importance of tree planting and soil conservation. The province is expected to have forest patches in another ten years' time.

● The PC has curbed the smuggling of Kenyan food to the neighbouring countries and insists that Kenyans should eat their own foodstuffs. As a result food shortages are rare in NEP.

● Mr. Kaaria has, Mr. Abdulla concluded, instilled the NEP people's confidence in the Government and the ruling party Kanu and has taught them the importance of one's pride and loyalty to his country.

Back to our trip. We take off from Nairobi's Wilson Airport and in about one hour and a few minutes' time we land in Garissa town, which is the NEP headquarters. We are met by the PC, Mr. Kaaria, who informs us that there is heavy rain in the area. It is about 12 noon.

And despite a heavy downpour, later that day Garissa people, led by their DC, Mr. S.G.I. Tetu, brave the weather to attend the PC's barazas where the Kenya

Charity Sweepstake's public relations officer, Mr. Peter Njoroge, donates 10,000/- to help Garissa School. In fact Mr. Njoroge tells me he has actually brought with him 40,000/- but the rest will be given to other needy schools further north.

We thank God that we are in Garissa, because heavy rain clouds almost forced us to fly back to Nairobi.

The pilot, Capt. I.M. Chouhan,

who is the chief pilot for Pioneer Airlines, managed to cut through the dangerous dark clouds, and flew low above the Nairobi-Garissa road till we landed safely. By the way, Capt. Chouhan tells me he was 13 years with the Kenya Air Force and has clocked more than 6,000 hours of flying.

After the Garissa baraza, a flight to Buna is cancelled due to the development of more dangerous clouds and rain there. Instead, we fly to the Wajir town where we are conducted on a tour of development projects by the area DC, Mr. Nicholas Mberia, and a number of the district's DOs.

The tour of Wajir town covers the Annalena Rehabilitation Centre where the white volunteers have not only provided a home for the disabled, but have also turned an arid area into a green field full of juicy pawpaws, vegetables, mangoes and maize through irrigation. We are also taken to where the Kenya Air Force men have planted trees which should turn their roads into beautiful avenues and their base into a forest in another ten years.

It is at Wajir where the Nation learns that the PC has set up afforestation and conservation committees on provincial, district, divisional, locational and sub-locational levels to turn NEP towns green and attractive.

The functions of these committees will include establishing tree nurseries, digging wells to water the trees, introducing the planting of citrus and mangoes and other crops in homesteads, manyattas, schools, market-centres, highways, hospitals, dispensaries, divisional and chiefs' centres and to introducing schools' competitions in tree planting.

"We intend to have a crash programme covering the next 10 years so that by 1992 we ought to have left a marked sign of our having been present in this province," says Mr. Karria.

While still in Wajir, KCC's Mr. Njoroge appointed the first agent to sell tickets, just like he later did in Elwak, Rhamu and Mandera.

The PC's convoy, which consisted of the provincial education officer, Mr. O.S. Farah; Mr. Njoroge, his friend, Mr. A.G. Ng'ethe, Capt. Chouhan, the provincial television cameraman Mr. Ondiek and myself, spent a

night at Wajir.

In Elwak, the people are welcoming and more humble than the other towns we visited. Elwak, which is in Somali means God's well, is about 6 km from the Somali town of Bura Hachi. It is called God's well because there is a well which has never been

known to dry.

The PC praises Elwak people because they do not smuggle food across like others, and subsequently increases their monthly sugar allocation from 500 to 1,000 bags. Elwak school committee chairman Haji Aden Kalif Ali and councillor Odowai Abdulla, both testify that before Mr. Kaaria came to the province, Elwak was a forgotten town. Mr. Njoroge donates another 10,000/- here as he will later do at Rhamu.

Rhamu, three miles from the Ethiopian town of Saddei, becomes the first place during the tour where the PC is welcomed with the national anthem. But it also becomes the first baraza during the tour where both the PC and DC had to intervene to silence the noisy crowd.

We fly to Mandera where we all become the night guests of the area DC, Mr. Francis Lokolool, the DC who informs us that Mandera people are now more development conscious than ever before.

The following morning is the National Tree Planting Day. April 16, and Mr. Kaaria participates in the exercise by planting trees at Mandera's Boys Town for orphans, Mandera DEB School, Moi Stadium and at the Mandera County Council's Rest House. It is at Mandera that the PC makes his climax speech, reiterating all he had said in Garissa, Wajir, Elwak and Rhamu.

Some of the highlights of his speech were: Free lunch for school children all over the province so as to try and attract nomadic children, and that the province would devote one hour two days a week for tree planting and watering. The exercise will involve everybody till the province provides forest patches.

Mr. Kaaria asked the NEP people to con in development projects now that the shifta menace was over and that they should all live and contribute towards the Nyayo philosophy of peace, love and unity.

## FILM SAID TO HUMILIATE KENYANS

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 14 May 82 p 7

[Article by R.W. Mutua]

[Text]

THE Voice of Kenya could not have done any better if it were a colonising agent by screening *The Flame Trees of Thika*.

Having read the book from which this series is filmed, my first reaction was, on seeing the first of the series, that there must be a mistake; when the second series was screened, then I knew something was definitely wrong.

The late President left us a legacy of forgiveness. One forgives and with time might even forget, or at least succeed in building a mental block against such acts of barbarism as were perpetrated against the blacks by colonialists. But how can one forget, I ask you, if one's independent national media makes a point of reminding one?

We appreciate the work done by VoK in its part in creating a Kenyan nation, a nation proud of itself, its achievements and the dignity of its people. Nevertheless by screening the film it is in the process of undoing the work of close on two decades, not only in its part but all the other sectors of the society.

A TV programme is designed to entertain and instruct. The film does not entertain. So its major purpose must be to instruct. But what is it teaching and what is the purpose of the lesson?

To me there is one lesson to be learned from this series; that the white man, because of his superiority, colonised the black man. Fair enough.

But what methods were used to subjugate the black man? The gun and the whip, to erode his dignity, self-respect and belief in

himself. Is this a lesson that VoK in an independent Kenya wants the older generations to remember and the younger ones to learn? If so, to what purpose?

At the end of the lesson I see a double effect, working individually or in combination, but both undesirable. Nobody likes to be humiliated and that is how *The Flame Trees of Thika* depict the African; a creature to be humiliated into submission.

Our children who were "born free" have not experienced the physical aspects of colonisation. VoK, however, would like them to go through the mental experience. To some of them this will create bitterness against the former colonisers or anybody who wears their colour. Others will submit to the mental colonisation, lose their dignity and belief in themselves as a free people.

Free Kenyan society is fighting to create a new identity, an identity to be proud of, but what chance have we of succeeding if our efforts are being eroded by the very organ we created to help us in this task?

Kenya is proud of being a multi-racial society. The greater part of this multi-racial is to be seen among the younger generations who go to school together, play together, eat together, and watch television together.

I wonder what goes on in the minds of two boys, one black, the other white as they sit, side by side, watching *The Flame Trees of Thika*.

## TRIBAL CLASHES MAY BE PAPERED OVER

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 4 May 82 p 7

[Article by Bein Oundo Odongo]

[Text]

I'M writing with regard to the Rift Valley Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Oyugi's speech following a report in the *Nation* about a tribal war in Uasin Gishu District.

We hope the PC's speech was true. The Nandi/Luhya war of last year began the same way. Yet Government officials in the area were telling the public that the clash was merely between four individuals and that the Government was doing its best to return the situation to normal.

The same way, this PC has said that there was no clash in the area and that the alleged tribal clash was only between local people and thieves. Now the question remains: Where did the *Nation* get its reports? Could the reporter have decided to present dreams to his superiors? No.... To crown everything, doesn't the *Nation* have its reporter in the area who will write what he himself has witnessed? Where there is smoke, there must be fire.

Though there are some things

hidden from the public, we hope some action is taken to suppress clashes. I relate this to what was happening in the Nandi/Luhya tribal clash in which the Government was very slow in taking action.

The public was being told that the situation was returning to normal, while if you visited the area you would think there was no Government in the country. Worse still, the GSU was sent there but instructed to do nothing.

Surprising enough, if you telephone police to say that Nandis are attacking an area, the police just ask you unnecessary questions and eventually fail to investigate.

However, in my opinion, such war is incited by senior Government officials from either tribe.

Such officials when caught, should be dealt with according to the law.

The public is still waiting to see the Government set a good example by punishing suspected politicians and administrators.

CSO: 4700/1291

## ODINGA IN LONDON AS GUEST OF ACTIVIST

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 3 May 82 p 5

[Text]

**PLANS for Kenya's former Vice-President Oginga Odinga to hold a series of meetings in London this week were yesterday reported not to have been completed yet.**

Mr. Odinga left Kenya for London at the weekend to deliver a series of public lectures on the topic: "The outlook for Africa in the 1980."

He was also scheduled to address British MPs, according to information released from his Nairobi office.

Reports at the weekend said Mr. Odinga was in London on a week-long visit to deliver a lecture to British Members of Parliament and specialists on African affairs.

Mr. Odinga is the guest of the human rights activist Lord Brockway who, as Fenner

Brockway, was a champion of African self-determination in the fifties and sixties. The two men are close friends.

And yesterday, a London source said Lord Brockway was still making arrangements for Mr. Odinga to hold his first public lecture.

"Odinga may hold his first meeting on Thursday, but I am not quite sure," the London source told the *Nation* over the telephone.

Asked if Mr. Odinga would address British MPs, the source said he was also not certain about this.

Earlier, Lord Brockway told the *Nation* that he expected that Mr. Odinga's lecture would be delivered in one of the committee rooms of the House of Commons.

By yesterday, the London source said, confirmation from the House of Commons had not yet been received and it was still not yet clear if Mr. Odinga would hold the meeting there.

CSO: 4700/1291



## OLOITIPITIP CRITICIZES DISGRUNTLED ELEMENT

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 4 May 82 p 1

[Text]

**LOCAL Government Minister Stanley Oloitipitip** has criticised "disgruntled elements" in Loitokitok Division, Kajiado District, who "confuse wananchi and disrupt development in the area".

The Minister, who is MP for Kajiado South, advised wananchi to report to the authorities anybody found to be engaging in *fitina* in the area.

Mr. Oloitipitip was addressing a public *baraza* at Olgirra Primary School, Rombo. Rombo sub-location where he gave a donation to help complete a tuition block and a teacher's house on Sunday.

Describing dissidents as lazy people who liked loose talk, the Minister advised wananchi to shun such people as their activities "were bent on crippling development".

Mr. Oloitipitip accused some people of questioning what development the Government have achieved in the area. "Where have these anti-development people taken their eyes to see the remarkable progress the leaders in the area through the Government have made over the years?" the Minister asked.

Mr. Oloitipitip cited various development projects, among them dispensaries, schools, roads, telephone

communications and markets that he said had been undertaken since his election as MP for Kajiado South.

The Minister called on all leaders in the constituency, among them councillors, local administration officials and wananchi, to co-operate in order to accelerate development in the area.

The money donated was received by the chairman of the school's board of governors, Mr. Ole Kirrondo who assured the meeting that the money would be used properly.

Mr. Oloitipitip also pledged to build a dispensary or a teacher's house in the same place depending on what leaders in the area decided.

At the same meeting the chairman of Ol Kejuado County Council, Mr. George Pertet, also condemned "misguided elements" in the constituency against what he called unfounded allegations and self-seeking.

Councillor Pertet told the crowd that unity and concerted effort was the "mother of success" in boosting development, adding that power-hungry people in any community were a disgrace to the country.

He said his council had allocated 2,000 acres of land to morans in the area to start keeping grade cattle.

Among those who attended and addressed the meeting were the District Officer for Loitokitok, Mr. Joseph Edala; area councillor Stephen Kipelian; the district community development officer, Mr. S.M. Jakaiti, and other Government officials.

## TEACHERS' COLLEGE IS ORDERED CLOSED

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 11 May 82 pp 1, 16

[Article by Patrick Ngugi and Robert Irungu]

[Text]

**THE Kenya Technical Teachers College, Nairobi, yesterday became the third educational institution to be indefinitely closed by the authorities within a week.**

And the Government last night gave the students of all the three colleges until mid-day today to report to their chiefs.

The other two institutions are Egerton College, Njoro, closed last Thursday and Kenyatta University College, Nairobi, closed on Friday.

The students of the closed colleges are to continue to report to their respective chiefs every Monday and Friday until they are otherwise informed, Higher Education Minister Joseph Kamotho told newsmen yesterday.

Yesterday morning, some 500 students of the Technical Teachers' College boycotted classes and demanded an audience with Mr. Kamotho.

But they dispersed peacefully 10 minutes after a riot police squad, which arrived in two lorries at 3 p.m., gave them 30 minutes to quit.

The boycott started early yesterday morning as the students thronged the college amphitheatre at about 8 a.m., waiting for the Minister "and/or the Permanent Secretary in the Higher Education Ministry or an official from the Teachers' Service Commission".

The students refused to go back to classes despite promises by principal J. D. Kimura that their grievances would be looked into.

According to a memorandum from the students to Mr. Kimura on Sunday, the grievances

included delay in implementing a Waruhiu Commission recommendation that they be paid a salary of 2,490/- a month.

The students also wanted to know as to why graduates from the college were appointed as SI teachers and being referred to students from other colleges as getting higher pay. They also question the non-increment of the teaching practice, attachment and monthly allowances.

The student demonstration yesterday was peaceful and no incidents of stone-throwing or property-destruction were reported.

The inspector in charge of the police contingent was seen consulting with a member of the faculty. He later asked the demonstrators to disperse within half-an-hour.

The students greeted the order cheerfully and left the premises

with their belongings inside of the deadline.

However, the students had defied the principal's order that they return to classes by 11.30 a.m., he later extended the deadline to 2 p.m.

At a noisy *Kamukunji* at the college amphitheatre, the students interrupted speakers with demands for action since they were tired of "diplomatic negotiations".

After the 2 p.m. deadline by the principal, the 15-man student council, which had been negotiating with the authorities in the past, was dissolved and a five-man committee formed in its place.

The students, meanwhile, kept shouting anti-Ministry of Higher Education slogans, and said they did not have confidence in Mr. Kamotho.

They also said that some of their colleagues who graduated last year and were already posted to schools had not been paid their salaries for more than three months.

The principal addressed the students for the second time at about 11 a.m., when he told them to go back to classes and that their grievances would be looked into.

"It is unlikely that you will be able to get what you want by having a defection. Therefore, I am appealing to you to return to your classes because I have been sent by the Ministry to tell you

so," Mr. Kimura said.

At about 1.15 p.m. the principal issued a memo giving the students a second deadline. It read in part:

"All students are directed to report to their classes by 2 p.m. sharp. Those that will have not reported should clear out of the KTTC campus by 2.15 p.m. Severe disciplinary action will be taken against those that refuse to attend classes by 2.15 p.m."

Another *Kamukunji* was held after the notice at which it was

decided to disband the students' council led by Mr. Shadrack Osewe as chairman. The five-man "action committee" was then appointed to tell the principal that the students' demands still stood and that they would not go to classes until Mr. Kamotho's arrival.

They were also to inform the principal that no conditions for readmission be set if they were sent home.

When approached, the principal said: "The Ministry is our spokesman."

In his order last night, Mr. Kamotho said that "Government will not succumb to any pressure from students" and that Government fully supported the action taken by the principals of the institutions involved.

Flanked by Higher Education director James Kamunge and Deputy Secretary Benjamin Kisulu, Mr. Kamotho said that any breakdown of law and order would not be tolerated. He said students found "loitering near institutions of higher learning will be charged with trespass". Authorities in schools "must be properly obeyed because law and order must prevail", he added.

Some students at the KTTC were reported yesterday to have refused to honour the national anthem, Mr. Kamotho said. "This is not an abuse to an individual but is an abuse to the country and national pride. It is a betrayal of national dignity. Government is going to take stern steps on these particular matters," the Minister said.

Mr. Kamotho said investigations were being carried to identify those who refused to honour the national anthem, "the symbol of our national pride". He added: "It is unfair to see total rape of our nation by young people."

Henceforth, he said, students disrupting law and order in institutions of higher learning would be disciplined by heads of their respective institutions.

# MEDICAL STUDENTS RIOT OVER FOOD

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 11 May 82 p 16

[Article by Gideon Mulaki]

[Text]

RIOT police were called to Kenyatta National Hospital last evening to disperse angry students of the Medical Training Centre who held a roadside *Kamukunji* complaining of being fed on poor food.

The students were also demanding higher allowances and improved welfare.

Earlier, the students stoned cars on Ngong Road before finally agreeing to be addressed by Assistant Health Minister James Njiru.

And both the students and Mr. Njiru agreed that a working committee comprising six student leaders, eight representatives from the Health Ministry and the college principal, Mr. S. B. Fernandes examine the students' problems from this morning.

The meeting lasted from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.

Student leaders told Mr. Njiru that the principal had refused to have a dialogue with students to discuss their problems.

They said the dinning hall was pathetic and the diet was poor. The utensils and other catering equipments, they said, were unfit

and some students had meals while standing because chairs were not enough.

They also complained of "unhygienic conditions in the halls", most of whose toilets were blocked.

On allowances, the students wondered how one could line out of college for a month on only 320/-.

And they demanded freedom of receiving visitors in their halls of residence and the immediate reinstatement of three students suspended for having visitors in their rooms.

They also wondered why students interviewed for a particular course were forced to train in other fields.

Demanding immediate improvement of meals and review of MTC rules and regulations, the students said they had not had bread for about two weeks and that tea was so poor that many students preferred to buy the beverage outside.

Mr. Njiru whose address was punctuated by shouts of "let's go for dinner now you yourself", assured the students that their problems would be looked into.

## STUDENT DISORDERS MAKE MOCKERY OF COUNTRY

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 11 May 82 p 6

[Editorial: "Rule of the Jungle Is Unacceptable"]

[Text]

THERE has been a series of student strikes in the past few days. These have assumed a new pattern since the students seem set to disrupt many colleges at all cost. They refuse to discuss some of the demands even when the authorities concerned are willing to indulge in dialogue.

This is totally unacceptable. It is the kind of behaviour that makes a mockery of our democratic traditions that President Moi's Government has worked so hard to maintain. And coming from our college elite it is pathetic since they are the future leaders of this nation.

The students ought to realise that they are indeed a privileged few being educated at the expense of the taxpayer and conduct themselves appropriately. They should know that they will never be able to draw public sympathy so long as they continue to behave like spoilt children.

In many societies university students pay their way — either by working part-time or getting their parents to pay up or a combination of those methods. Nothing for them comes free. In the case of our own university students' education is virtually free. This fact alone removes whatever moral right they may have to engage in riots and force the authorities to close down their institutions.

It is easy, of course, for the affected students to argue that they are entitled to a free education at the expense of the taxpayer. Fair enough. But the taxpayers expect them to behave with decorum and to utilise to the best advantage whatever facilities made possible by the sweat and sacrifices of this country's workers and peasants. And we dare say they should be grateful.

The students have completely forgotten why they are where they are. They are simply students. They go to the university to study—not to negotiate for terms of service with potential employers. In Kenyatta, Egerton and Kenya Technical Teachers' College it was clear that the students were using the wrong forum to negotiate for the right thing at the wrong time.

It is not the responsibility of those colleges to negotiate with students on the conditions and terms of service for their future employers, be they Government or anybody else.

For the students to stage riots and make demands over such matters is absurd and unrealistic.

Whatever the merits and demerits of the current student demands there can be no room in ordered society for mob behaviour. This is more so when the students put their demands in such a way that the orderly process of negotiation is denied.

What puzzles observers in this case is the fact that the students seem so bent on the idea that their so-called demands justified rioting and violence. Where dialogue is denied there can only be the rule of the jungle and clearly this society should not allow this to happen.

It is unacceptable that a select few should damage what this nation has managed to build with great sacrifice. The damage to Kenyatta University College for example, runs into thousands of shillings. This will have to be replaced. Money for that will have to be taken away from more immediate concerns. The waste involved obviously sets the nation back in significant ways.

It is the taxpayers — parents of these students — who have paid for the building of this institution and the others affected. They not only sweated but they believed that their sweat would contribute to the education of young Kenyans for the betterment of the nation *in toto*. Obviously the taxpayer cannot be expected to just throw money away to be looted and burned in the name of some grievances.

It is important that the students understand that they should be responsible for their actions. They will have to pay for the damage. If they cannot honour society's commitment to them then society has no choice but to reject them.

CSO: 4700/1291

## STUDENTS' RIOT CLOSES COLLEGE

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 6 May 82 p 1

[Article by Chris Musyoka]

[Text]

**EGERTON College, Njoro, was yesterday closed indefinitely after riot police chased away students protesting against alleged low job-groups given to them compared to other similar colleges.**

A 50-strong riot squad, armed with rifles, baton-charged slogan-shouting students demanding redressal of their grievances.

Many of the students fled from the college and the hostels to Njoro town, about 5 km away. Earlier, they held a "kamukunji" and demanded they be given a higher grade after graduation.

They held a demonstration, damaged a car and boycotted classes, demanding that they be appointed on job-group "H" like university graduates when they leave college instead of being

appointed on job-group "G".

College principal Richard Musangi earlier asked students to resume classes and submit their grievances through the proper channel. Prof. Musangi said the students' case had been forwarded to the Directorate of Personnel Management for consideration and that they should await the results before resorting to any rash action.

He warned them against resorting to staging a strike or boycott since they were civil servants on study leave. He said the Civil Service Code and the college rules prohibited such action.

Prof. Musangi urged them to resume classes. But when the students failed to comply, he gave them 10 minutes to do so as riot police stood by.

The students, however, paid no heed and moved their demonstration to the local chief's camp. The riot police then stepped in and asked them to disperse.

Some of them, however, erected a blockade at the college gate and barred other students from entering the premises. But pickets were cleared by the police.

About 900 college students started their demonstration in the morning and demanded to see

Rift Valley Provincial Commissioner H. N. Oyugi.

The closure of the college came after talks between a 17-member committee of the college union and the college authorities over the job-group issue were deadlocked.

The union claims that graduates from similar colleges (such as AHITI, Kenya Technical Teachers College, Kenya Science Teachers College and others) are absorbed in higher job grades than those offered Egerton College graduates.

Prof. Musangi was not available for comment.

The problem at the college has been simmering for some time. Early this year, the then Agriculture Minister Mr. Gilbert M'Mbijewe, was reported to have told the students that the question of job groups would be dealt with by the Government in due time.

Tension reigned at the college since Tuesday morning when all the students resolved not to attend classes until their demand was met.

Some students had already started streaming out of the college when the riot squad was summoned.

## STUDENTS HIT AT KAMOTHO

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 10 May 82 p 1

[Text]

**NAIROBI University students yesterday told Higher Education Minister Joseph Kamotho to stop using the Press "to instil fear in students". And they declared solidarity with their colleagues at Kenyatta University College.**

A statement issued by the Student Organisation of Nairobi University (SONU) told the Minister to face the students and thrash out the problems bedevilling the college, which was closed on Friday following student unrest.

The statement, signed by Sonu chairman Titus Adung'osi, said: "We, the students of the University of Nairobi, are in complete solidarity with our Kenyatta University colleagues and are opposed to the way the college principal Prof. J.K. Maitha, opted to use the instruments of terror in the form of riot police instead of the priceless investment in peace validated by open dialogue in facing the problems as earlier requested by the students."

The statement read out to pressmen by Mr. Adung'osi at the campus warned: "We wish to put it straight that any attempts to victimise the students either individually or as a group will be considered as an affront to the entire student fraternity in the university community."

"Sonu, which is in the process of finding a peaceful solution to some of the problems raised by the Kenyatta University students, like the seven months closure and the National Service Scheme, wishes to caution the overall university administration

to note that we are keenly watching the developments at KUC as an interested party."

It continued: "We further remind the university administration that the university is not private property. . . which can be messed with at will, but rather the taxpayers' property and must of necessity be seen to be run in the interests of the taxpayer."

The statement was read in the presence of Sonu's 24-member Student Representative Council.

The students said the crisis at the college could have been averted had Prof. Maitha agreed to have a dialogue with students.

Sonu said the college students wanted the teaching practice decentralised to allow them to propose areas of their own choice.

●The administration to explain the position of their teaching practice allowances in view of the fact that teaching practice had been extended from one to three months.

●An explanation on how transport arrangements during the teaching practice had been organised.

●Further explanation on the circumstances surrounding the proposed long closure of the entire university.

●And details of the proposed National Service Scheme which infringes upon students' academic welfare and professional careers.

They accused Mr. Kamotho of acting tough and warned that if the Minister wanted them to go on strike, they would.



## RICH STUDENTS BLAMED FOR CHAOS

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 12 May 82 p 28

[Text]

ASSISTANT Health Minister James Njiru yesterday accused rich Kenyans' children of sparking off chaos in most of the country's educational institutions and thereafter being flown abroad to continue their studies while others suffered.

Mr. Njiru made the accusation at the end of a nine-hour meeting with student representatives of the Medical Training School and Ministry officials in bid to solve the students' grievances.

And blaming "wealthy" children for the closure of Egerton College (on May 5), Kenyatta University College (on May 7) and the Kenya Technical Teachers College (on May 7) Mr. Njiru warned the MTC students against being influenced by those students of other institutions to resort to any behaviour which might jeopardise the welfare of patients.

Such behaviour, he warned, would not be tolerated.

Those at the meeting were members of a working committee formed on Monday to thrash out issues at the centre.

Mr. Njiru said that the committee agreed on action to be taken immediately to ensure that student problems were rectified.

There would also be continuous follow-ups on the decisions taken during the meeting for a plan of action, he said.

On the three expelled students, Mr. Njiru asked them to appeal to the Ministry for reinstatement, saying that he had asked the principal to brief him on their expulsion.

On Monday the MTC students complained of having a rough time at the centre. They took to the streets, stoning cars before finally agreeing to be addressed by Mr. Njiru.

Mr. Sebastian Bwire, on behalf of the student representatives, thanked the Assistant Minister and his officials for the way they had handled their problems.

CSO: 4700/1291

## STUDENT RIOTS ALLEGEDLY TARNISH IMAGE

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 13 May 82 p 10

[Text]

THE Western Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Julius Kobia, has condemned indiscipline among students. He said it was the cause of strikes at the university and other institutions.

The strikes were tarnishing the Government's image, he said in Kakamega on Tuesday.

Mr. Kobia was referring to Kenyatta University College, Kenya Technical Teachers' College, and Egerton College which have been closed following student strikes.

Mr. Kobia directed chiefs to open registers for students from the three colleges. The students have been ordered by the Government to report to their chiefs every Monday and Friday.

Mr. Kobia, who was addressing District Officers, chiefs and assistant chiefs, appealed to them to hold barazas and advise parents on the importance of discipline among children.

He also warned civil servants against "loose talk" in bars, and directed that Government vehicles found parked in front of bars be seized.

The PC appealed to DCs, DOs, chiefs and assistant chiefs to wear full uniforms for official meetings.

He presented commendation certificates to three chiefs: Chief Peter Likwiro of Soy in

Kakamega District, ex-Senior Chief Wanga Oniang of Bunyala in Busia District and Chief John Sifuna of Ndivisi in Bungoma District. The certificates were from President Moi in recognition of the chiefs' work.

And Central Deputy Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Tom Ogechi, on Tuesday described student strikes as "a sign of immaturity and foolishness".

Mr. Ogechi said that students who went on strike over a few minor problems were the ones who performed poorly in examinations. He lashed out at indiscipline in schools and urged students to think of rewarding

their parents' sweat by working hard.

Mr. Ogechi was speaking before presenting the Guinness Stout Effort Award for the month of February to the headmistress of Ngandu Girls Secondary School in Nyeri for getting the best results in "A" level examinations for the last four years.

Mr. Ogechi commended students, teachers and parents of the school, saying it was due to their co-operation that the school had excelled in the examination.

He said that although the school was started on Harambee basis it was now able to take over 30 students to the university and the nation was proud of it.

—KNA

CSO: 4700/1291

## KENYAN STUDENTS CLASH IN INDIA

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 12 May 82 p 1

[Text]

**NINETY-NINE  
Kenyan and  
Nigerian students in  
India were arrested  
yesterday following  
two days of fierce  
clashes triggered by  
a quarrel over girls.**

Fighting with knives, sticks, rocks and iron rods, the two groups set ablaze some motorcycles and smashed windows in an area heavily populated by African students studying at the Chandigarh University, 250 kilometres from New Delhi.

The clashes left dozens of students injured and the local authorities sent in riot police.

The detained students were later released on bail.

The street fighting reportedly flared after some Kenyan students objected to Nigerians dating Kenyan girls, whom the Nigerians were accused of "misleading and misusing".

On his return from India at the end of March this year, an Assis-

**NEW DELHI, Tuesday.**

tant Minister for Constitutional Affairs, Mr. Z. O. Olang, said several Kenyan students in India were suffering acute financial embarrassment after being abandoned by their sponsors. Mr. Olang went on to say that female students were worse off than their male counterparts which forced some of them to stay with richer male students from other foreign countries to the embarrassment of male Kenyan students. He said fights were common between Kenyan male students and others over Kenyan girls.

In a telephone interview from his New Delhi official residence, Kenya's High Commissioner, Mr. P. G. Gitonga, confirmed the clashes but declined to comment until he received a full report from the officer he sent to investigate.

When asked whether it was true that the Inspector-General of Police, Mr. B. N. Mehra, had summoned him, together with his Nigerian counterpart, to Chandigarh to discuss the possibility of deporting the 99 students, Mr. Gitonga said he had not been summoned directly.

CSO: 4700/1291

## SUSPECT ALLEGES POLICE TORTURE

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 11 May 82 p 16

[Text]

FORMER detainee Apollo Washington Juma said in court yesterday that police took him to Ngong Hills where they threatened to shoot him if he did not admit alleged involvement in a letter handed to the Liberian Embassy.

The letter, read in court last week, talked of coup in Liberia, allegedly involving Kenya.

Juma was testifying in a trial within a trial in an inquiry being held before a senior resident magistrate, Mrs. Joyce Aluoch, to determine why Juma should not be ordered to be placed on bond to keep peace for a year and be of good behaviour.

In an affidavit sworn in court, Juma is alleged to have been involved since 1971 in instances of writing to various foreign embassies giving false information with an aim of obtaining financial rewards.

The last of such involvement was when he wrote a letter in February this year saying there was a coup plot to be executed in Liberia in April this year in which Kenya, Nigeria and the United States were allegedly involved.

During last week's hearing police Chief Insp. James Kilonzo testified on how he obtained a statement from Juma concerning his involvement in writing of the letter handed at the Liberian Embassy in Kenya. But Juma's lawyer, Mr. Charles Nyamwamu

refused the admission of the statement in court.

The lawyer then called his client, Juma, who testified on how the statement was taken. The suspect, Juma, denied Chief Insp. Kilonzo's evidence that he

had obtained the lengthy statement from Juma in early April this year voluntarily.

During cross-examination by Senior Supt. Jeremiah Odera yesterday Juma stated that after his arrest on April 2 he was taken to the Central Police Station.

Juma claimed that two days after his arrest he was taken to the Special Branch offices where the chief inspector and another senior officer allegedly took turns in beating him with two canes. Juma stated that as a result he was injured and he sustained swollen thighs and knee joints. "And when I went back to cells I could not stand properly and I considered the act to be brutal."

The suspect, Juma, further claimed that it was not until April 15 that he was brought to court and charged, and that then he had no chance to complain as he was taken to court in a rush.

On further cross-examination, Juma claimed that once in the Nairobi remand prison he complained of internal pains and was treated by being given an injection and tablets. He said he had no chit to show this, but added that last week he was treated in the same remand for diarrhoea.

Mrs. Aluoch will give her ruling on the statement tomorrow, May 12.

INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE ALLEGEDLY 'HINDER PROGRESS'

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 11 May 82 p 3

[Text]

THE major problem experienced during the implementation of projects in the Rift Valley has been interference by influential people, Provincial Planning Officer Paul S. Muthui has said.

In his 1981 annual report Mr. Muthui said such people did not take into account the initial implementation requirements of the projects.

As a result, he added, some projects were initiated long before local communities were organised to participate in them.

He said in some cases funds were allocated to undersigned projects. Such projects were difficult to implement, the report said.

He said development projects in the Rift Valley Province received Sh. 9,746,540 through the Rural Development Fund (RDF) last year.

He said that while the number of the projects doubled from 65 to 130 between 1980 and 1981, expenditure reflected an increase of Sh. 2,314,780 over the amount of money spent in 1980.

Baringo District with 64 per cent had the highest number of completed projects followed by Nakuru with 60 per cent. The area with the least number of completed projects was Elgeyo-Markwet District with only 19 per cent. Mr. Muthui said in the report.

Assistance from the European Economic Community (EEC) through the Government to schools and three health centres stood at Sh. 6,450,000 in 1980. The assistance increased to Sh. 7,490,000 in 1981 when the same number of projects were aided, the report further stated.

Mr Muthui said that five micro projects including two irrigation and water and school projects were recommended for aid.--KNA

CSO: 4700/1291

## FUROR RAISED OVER FARM DEBT

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 11 May 82 p 3

[Text]

A DEBT of 300,000/- inherited from a white settler has sparked off complaints among a group of Nakuru farmers.

A total of 2,000 farmers found themselves with a debt of 100,000/- after buying six farms from the settler. The money, which has since swollen to 300,000/-, was owed to the Government.

According to Nakuru County Council Chairman Wilson Leitich, the debt has hampered the farmers' agricultural progress.

Coun. Leitich, addressing members of Kadutura farm in Rongai at the weekend, condemned the recent strike staged by Egerton College students.

He said parents and leaders should discipline students sent home for "irreponsible behaviour".

The meeting, which had been called to discuss matters on Visoi Water Association, also condemned the heavy debts imposed on the farmers.

Earlier, an official of Bell House and Mwangi, a Nakuru

firm of auditors who are in charge of the debt collection, refuted allegations that they were "milking" wananchi.

A spokesman said the loan was from Ministry of Agriculture. He said the original loan of 291,000/- was given to six settlers in 1958 and was to be paid in 20 years, ending in 1979.

The spokesman said a committee of ten people, including the area chief, directors of the six farms and the district community development assistant, was set up to look into the dispute and clarify whether the loan agreement was binding to the present farm owners.

The farmers had appealed to the Government to take over the Visoi Water Association and make plans to supply sufficient water to all the six farms.

The meeting was also addressed by the Bahati divisional Kanu chairman, Coun. William Lasoi, who revealed that Forest Department had donated ten acres of land for the construction of a primary school in the area.

CSO: 4700/1291

## AID FIRM GETS NAIROBI BASE

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 11 May 82 p 3

[Article by Kamau Kaniaru]

[Text]

THE newly-formed housing finance institution of the African Development Bank (ADB) will have its headquarters in Nairobi, it was confirmed here yesterday.

The present chairman of the ADB board of governors, Zambian Finance Minister Kerby Musokotwane, thanked the Kenya Government for agreeing to host the institution, Shelter-Afrique, whose full name is the Company for Habitat and Housing in Africa.

Addressing a potential shareholders' meeting at Mulungushi Hall, Mr. Musokotwane said the ADB could not have found a better host with a richer experience in hosting international organisations in Africa.

He said the ADB had previously not been able to meet requests for housing finance from member states due to lack of expertise in the field. He paid tribute to the bank's management for formulating a lending policy in favour of low-income groups.

He noted Shelter-Afrique would also benefit from the entry of non-regional states into the ADB, which should give a big boost to the company's capital and enhance borrowing from international finance markets.

Shelter-Afrique, he said, needed \$1 billion to make a meaningful impact in the field of housing. Fortunately, he added, the new non-regional members had pledged to maintain the African character of the ADB in all its operations.

According to Shelter-Afrique's statutes, the company comprises of African governments as well as regional, sub-regional and

non-African institutions. Its primary objectives are to assist African member governments in the formulation of coherent and effective housing policies and in the implementation of approved national housing projects through the mobilisation of capital.

Shelter-Afrique began to take final shape at a meeting in Arusha last year which was attended by 17 ADB member states, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the East African Development Bank (EADB), the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC) and three other regional and sub-regional institutions.

The level of initial authorised capital was then fixed at \$40 million, of which \$20 million was to be paid-up. Of the total, 50 per cent was reserved for all African member states of the ADB and the remaining for regional and sub-regional institutions, including the ADB itself.

Kenya's allocation of Shelter-Afrique's capital stock is 494 shares of \$1,000 each or \$494,000. The highest allocation is held by Nigeria with 2,662 shares, followed by Algeria 1,854, Libya 1,574, Zaire 1,408 and Egypt 1,330 shares.

Shelter-Afrique's headquarters in Nairobi will be accorded all diplomatic immunities.

## OFFICIAL SPELLS OUT ROLE OF VILLAGE POLYTECHNICS

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 11 May 82 p 8

[Text]

VILLAGE polytechnics are not a dumping ground for primary school failures but institutions where the youth can acquire self-reliance, Nyanza Provincial Youth Training Officer Kimaru wa Karuru has said.

Kenya, he said, had reached a stage where practical education was becoming more important than theoretical education and added that village polytechnics were playing a vital role in producing the skilled manpower badly needed at present.

Karuru was speaking at the Sega Village Polytechnic in Siaya District during a visit to the institution by village polytechnic chairmen, managers and treasurers from Masaku District who are touring Nyanza and Western provinces.

He said the problem of unemployment could be reduced if the majority of school leavers were armed with skills that could make them either employable or self-reliant.

The youth officer advised village polytechnic graduates to form themselves into work groups

in the rural areas instead of rushing to towns.

Coun. John Mumo of the Masaku Municipal Council called on parents to send their children to village polytechnics and to build more such institutions on self-help basis.

In Kericho the acting District Commissioner, Mr. Peter Lagat, has said that the Government attaches great importance to village polytechnics as they create self-employment for the youth.

Addressing a Kericho village polytechnic management committee meeting at Kipsigis County Council hall at the weekend, Mr. Lagat said village polytechnics should employ qualified and experienced managers.

He called upon the committee to control funds allocated to the polytechnics and see that they were utilised properly.

Mr. Lagat said polytechnics should co-ordinate their activities with the Culture and Social Services Ministry to be able to get funds from the Government.

— KNA

CSO: 4700/1291



## KENATCO GRIPPED BY FINANCIAL CRISIS

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 12 May 82 pp 1, 28

[Article by Peter Kareithi]

[Text]

KENATCO is in the grip of a serious financial crisis.

Besides a more than Sh. 17-million loss in 1981, the State-owned transport firm is experiencing severe liquidity problems in financing its operations.

Kenatco is now operating on "negative working capital," chairman S. L. M. M'Maiti says in the company's report for 1981.

Among the main causes of the company's current problems are under-capitalisation and last year's loss.

These are exerting "extreme pressure" on liquidity, Mr. M'Maiti said in the report recently filed with the Registrar of Companies.

Efforts to raise a medium-term loan have been unsuccessful and the company has been operating on overdrafts and short-term loans, according to the report.

Company directors have also expressed uncertainty about its future and have asked the Government, the sole shareholder through the Industrial and Commercial Development Corpora-

tion (ICDC), for urgent steps to keep the company afloat.

Kenatco's problems began in 1977, when its lucrative service to Zambia was cut off as a result of the Kenya/Tanzania border closure.

Kenatco then turned to Uganda, Zaire, Ruanda and Burundi. But barring Uganda, it encountered severe competition from private transporters on the rest of the western route.

The Government, however, stepped in and gave Kenatco

some protections, including:

- A monopoly to transport coffee on Kenyan roads.

- Police protection for all Kenatco convoys carrying coffee making Kenatco safer in relation to private transporters, especially at the height of coffee smuggling in 1977 and 1978.

As a result, Kenatco was transporting 150,000 tonnes of coffee a year from Uganda and 75,000 tonnes from Zaire, Ruanda and Burundi.

This was 90 per cent of Kenatco's long-distance haulage and nearly 80 per cent of its entire operations.

But the protection began to be eroded in early 1980, when some private transporters started lobbying for authority to carry coffee on Kenyan roads.

Soon, police escort facilities accorded to Kenatco were withdrawn and the company had to spend a great deal on armed escorts to accompany its convoys. This was one of the reasons the company's 1979-80 profits came down to a mere Sh. 1.4 million compared with higher figures in previous years.

In early 1981, Kenatco stopped transporting coffee for about four months. Informed sources said this followed a directive from the Government reportedly given owing to the uncertain security situation in Uganda at the time.

This was considerable loss of business for Kenatco.

Another contributing factor was the high cost of operating old and uneconomical vehicles, according to the annual report, which also blames the problems

on economic slump and high inflation.

Consequently, Kenatco's loss in 1981 amounted to Sh. 17,809,980. Its programmes to revitalise the company also could not be implemented for lack of finance. It could not, for instance, replace 59 of its trucks and trailers, according to the report.

The replacement programme was to be financed through injection of equity capital of Sh. 13.5 million and a long-term loan of Sh. 54 million. Kenatco is capitalised at Sh. 6.9 million.

The ICDC did not inject any further equity capital and the National Bank of Kenya, the main bankers, has not sanctioned a long-term loan. Even so, the company went ahead to replace 14 trucks and trailers at a cost of Sh. 15.83 million financed by "a bridging short-term loan" from the suppliers, Trucks and Equipment Co. Ltd.

Other reports said the company was owed over Sh. 5 million by the Kenya Government and Sh. 10 million by Uganda, sums which were said to be long overdue.

Mr. M'Maiti's report said the continued under-capitalisation and last year's loss were adversely

affecting the company's liquidity.

The report said: "With a thin capital base, serious liquidity problems and the current economic slump, it is difficult to predict with any certainty the outcome of the current year."

Without giving details, the report said appropriate measures were being taken to keep the company afloat.

## KANU 'NEEDS A SHOT IN THE ARM'

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 12 May 82 p 4

[Text]

THE Kenya African National Union (Kanu) needs to be vigorously revitalised, an Assistant Minister in the Office of the President, Mr. John Keen, said yesterday.

The ruling party, he said, needed to be made more dynamic and functional at the grassroots level.

As a mass organisation of Kenyans, Mr. Keen said, the party should be operational at all times and not just during elections.

He regretted that Kanu had hitherto been active mostly when elections were round the corner and called for immediate reorganisation of the party from the grassroots to the headquarters levels.

Mr. Keen, speaking to newsmen on his return from West Germany, said that only a revitalised party could effectively translate President Moi's philosophy of peace, love and unity and Government policies into action programmes.

Mr. Keen was accompanied on the trip by the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, Mr. Moses arap Keino, and an Assistant Minister for Health, Mr. James Njiru. The delegation returned to Nairobi on Monday.

Mr. Keen told the *Nation* that Kanu should help promote national welfare through tree planting, soil conservation and other development projects as well as in

fighting social evils.

He said that, once fully organised, the party could also provide numerous jobs throughout its branches. It could also be used in disciplining people not conforming with the required standards of the society, he said.

Mr. Keen said the ruling party should be made a instrument for wananchi to fully participate in nation-building. It should also act as a bridge between the people and

the Government and people should use it as a forum to air their grievances, he said.

Mr. Keen said the reorganisation would involve streamlining of the party's financial sources in order to give it adequate funds to become fully operational.

Mr. Keen's suggestions included training and recruitment of party officials, boosting of communication between headquarters and branches, a constant membership drive and supply of equipment to all branches. He also called for total involvement of youth and women in party activities and working programmes as well as seminars at all party levels.

The Kenya delegation had visited West Germany at the invitation of the Social Democratic Party, through the Frederich Ebert Foundation. The aim was to study the operations of the West German Party.

Mr. Keen said the members of the delegation would soon submit their report to President Moi, who is also the President of Kanu.

CSO: 4700/1291

## SAND DISPUTE DISRUPTS FAMILY INCOMES

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 12 May 82 pp 11, 13

[Article by Peter Ngunjiri]

[Text]

MACHAKOS District is rich with vast deposits of sand, ideal for building purposes, which has provided a steady income to most of its residents, but of late, controversies over the removal of sand from the district have affected incomes of many.

Controversies over sand removal in Machakos District started when some chiefs believed that lorry drivers who came into the district to collect sand, were of low morals, which were being passed on to the youth, and some of the chiefs invoked the Chief's Act, and stopped further removals of sand from their areas.

However, other sections of the community in the district have reasons to believe that these stoppages were politically motivated, by some leaders who would have wished to have a say in the collection of sand.

Formerly, it was the Masaku County Council that collected "sand removal royalties", since they are the ones that have been vested with trustlands, and all river banks are trustlands, and it is from here that sand is collected.

Since the stopping of sand removals, life is not what it

used to be in the district. People who had managed to make life better out of selling sand, or just heaping it for lorry drivers, or loading it on the lorries, are without these incomes.

The Masaku County Council, which last year alone netted a handsome amount of Sh. 3.9m from sand collection royalties, is threatening to cut some of its aid to the people, for it is not in a position to help them to the tune it had reached last year, due to a fall in income.

The chiefs, apart from the question of morals, also added that the removal of sand from the district aided soil erosion, at the time when the government is fighting to eliminate erosion, and that water for drinking got polluted.

Armed with the three grounds, they invoked the Chief's Act, and stopped further removals. Any one found removing sand from their areas was arrested by the chief's askaris, sometimes beaten, and later fined.

In Muvuti and Masii locations, the chiefs made sure that no sand was collected from Thwake River, which divides the two locations.

When they heard that some lorries came at night, they dug deep trenches across the road leading to spots where sand was collected, to make sure that no lorries came.

On my visit to Machakos District last week, I was informed that there were lorries collecting sand from Katothiani River in Kalama Location, and on getting to the spot where sand was being collected, most of the men ran for cover under thickets.

The owner of the lorry approached me, and when the others learned I was not from the chief's camp, they came back. Fear has been instilled into them, and whenever they hear a vehicle approach or see a stranger, they hide.

The owner of the lorry, who wished to remain anonymous, told me that apart from the chiefs stopping them, "The municipal council is asking us to pay 50/- for the roads each day, while we have paid road licences. It is even asking us to pay Sh. 700 per week, whereas we have paid Sh. 4,000 to the county council."

He informed me that, the sand being collected was important to the economy of Kenya, as most of the Nairobi buildings have been put up using sand from Machakos, and warned, "Building prices will go up sharply if we are not going to get sand freely as it was the case before."

While Machakos was convenient for the lorry owners, this transporter told me, "We might as well look for alternative places like Kajiado, and leave the sand here to go to waste in the Indian Ocean. We are not exporting the sand; all we are doing is to build our nation."

The lorry owners will move to other districts to collect the sand, raise their charges and pass them on to the builders. What about the people of Machakos, to whom this sand business meant everything, as the district does not have many opportunities of employment?

This question was answered when I got to Syuuni River, also in Kalama Location, where I found two lorries with over 45 young men sitting around the river, while another 10 were working on the sand, loading it on

the lorries.

One man who told me that his name was Gerrishom Kiswili, said that, "We are getting hungry, for there is no employment for us. Before the chiefs brought about this issue, about 75 lorries would come here, and queue to get the sand. Now, we are the ones who queue to get a chance to load the few lorries that come."

I was told that when this business boomed, the people organised themselves such that there were groups whose work was to put sand into heaps, while others would load it into the lorries, and they were handsomely paid. The owners of the land got paid too.

But with the chiefs' actions, all these people are now rendered jobless. Even in the areas where the chiefs have not banned the sand removals, lorry drivers fear to venture there, and now the action by the Machakos Municipal Council has made the issue even worse.

Some of the young people were asked if it was true that the drivers and their turnboys are the ones that introduced smoking of bhang and drinking of chang'aa in the area, and all that I interviewed said that was rubbish and was only used as a scapegoat.

"Bhang smoking and chang'aa drinking is not new," said one man. "People have been doing it even before these lorries came here. All I can say, it is true that people consumed more chang'aa

as a result of earning ready cash, and that is only an economical problem. If they get other sources of money, they will drink more. It is just like the days of the coffee boom."

He denied that young girls have been corrupted by the drivers, saying, "Our old men from time immemorial have been known to marry off young girls as they got richer; so why not we, if we are financially sound?"

There was, however, the more serious issue of soil erosion and polluting of water. But the clerk to Masaku County Council Mr. Kioko wa Luka told me that, "We agree this is a major problem, but with little co-operation, it can be contained."

He said that, the council has plans to construct sub-surface dams on the rivers, and these would help to ease the problem in two folds. Said he, "They block

the river and raise the water level thus ensuring a constant supply of water, and secondly, they would help cultivate the sand but stopping its flow down the river."

As such, sand would be collected from the dams, and when exhausted, they would move to another, while it collects in the exhausted one, also ensuring a steady supply of sand without any fear of erosion of soil.

Asked about the low moral introduced, Mr. Luka was also of the opinion that chang'aa brewing and bhang-smoking are not new

and said: "We feel that this is a general trend in the country and has nothing to do with the lorries. This is a responsibility of the police and administration to charge the people involved."

On corrupting girls, Mr. Luka said: "If one is a woman of good morals, then the question of low morality does not arise. We have however heard of cases where girls and women have been given lifts, and not dropped at the required destinations. All we ask them is to avoid these lifts."

Since most people found that the real root of the problem was actually individuals who wished to have a monopoly in the sale of sand, the council is in the process of forming a public company, which will control all sales, and the public would buy shares in it.

Said Mr. Luka: "The council would have controlling shares, and the wananchi would be invited to buy shares. This company would heap the sand at a particular place and sell it from there. Preliminary work is being done for its memorandum of association, and the public will be informed."

The row with the Municipal Council of Machakos was dismissed by a full council meeting of the Masaku County Council last week, where councillors said that the municipal council had no right to charge royalties over trustlands which are vested with the county council. They also noted that it was wrong for the municipality to levy transport charges for roads which are Government-maintained.

The Swahili people have rightly said that when two bulls fight, it is the grass that suffers. Here, some people of Machakos who would not wish to have their land eroded, as claims have been put, are now suffering, because of something which isn't of their own making.

## CREDIT SQUEEZE HURTS, SAYS NDEGWA

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 7 May 82 p 1

[Article by Kauli wa Mwembe]

[Text]

**EXCESS money supply and deficit financing are among the main causes of inflation in Kenya, Central Bank of Kenya (CBK) Governor Duncan Ndegwa said yesterday.**

Deficit financing resulted in excessive money supply, he said, advising against resorting to credit squeeze as a remedy.

Credit squeeze would be inappropriate as "it does not touch the root cause of the money supply increase". Such a step "can only depress private sector activity and hurt general performance of the economy," Mr. Ndegwa told a luncheon meeting of the Kenya Economic Association at City Hall, Nairobi.

Speaking on "Monetary Policy in Kenya," Mr. Ndegwa stressed the need for integrating fiscal

policy with monetary policy.

"In the absence of such integration, monetary policy cannot fully succeed in fulfilling its responsibility to the nation," he said, adding that the conduct of monetary policy in the last 16 years was prudent but its success has been constrained by the lack of responsiveness of some sectors like the "five target groups" identified in the 1979-83 Development Plan as the pastoralists, small farmers, landless rural workers, the urban poor and the handicapped.

"In the case of these groups and others similarly placed, the operation of monetary policy can be likened to the use of a string which makes it easy to pull but impossible to push," he said.

To some extent, he said, the success or failure of monetary policy in Kenya depended on co-operation between the Government and private sectors whose styles of demand for money fundamentally differed.

Exceptional increase in

Government borrowing, which stood at Sh. 1,323 million last year, marked the beginning of a rough course for the Central Bank's management of monetary policy, he said.

Since 1979, he added, monetary policy tools proved less effective because their desired effects were crowded out by the Government's fiscal operations.

In 1981, he said, the CBK adjusted downward the exchange rate and substantially raised interest rates. Such measures could sometimes be very painful, he said, adding: "Although the devaluation was expected to correct adverse balance of payments, the inflationary consequences of fiscal policy tended to undermine the attempt to bring positive returns on savings deposits."

No matter how well-conceived, Mr. Ndegwa said, it was clear that monetary policy could not displace properly executed projects such as roads, irrigation schemes, reafforestation and soil conservation programmes. "Nor can monetary policy be expected to directly raise productivity and employment or create more plant and equipment, he added.

## OIL EXPLOITATION RULES SPELLED OUT

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 7 May 82 p 36

[Text]

NEW rules have been drawn up for mining, processing, storage and marketing of crude oil in Kenya.

The Oil Production Regulations, 1982, are contained in a special 98-page issue of the *Kenya Gazette* today. The first schedule of the issue contains the rights and obligations of the miner, information on settlement of disputes and termination and cancellation of oil mining rights.

Also included is information on inspection of mining areas and confidentiality of data between the miner and the Government.

The second schedule has details on term, termination and payment, surrender, fees and royalties, payments, valuation of crude oil and measurement of petroleum.

It also gives general standards of conduct, data and samples, reports, joint liability and indemnity, wells and

surveys, off-shore operations, manager, attorney and joint operating agreement, local employment and training, fixtures and installations and corporate structure.

Part Four of the Second schedule deals with land for public purposes, inspection, notice to execute works, distress and obligations of Government. Part Five deals with bank guarantees, oil discovery, development plan, marginal and non-commercial discovery and natural gas.

It spells out production and marketing of oil vis-a-vis production levels, participation and non-contributing interests, storage and delivery of oil, domestic consumption and foreign account.

Other parts of the schedule spell out rules governing arbitration, books, accounts and audits. The special issue was signed by the Minister for Energy, Mr. G.K. M'Mbijewe, on May 4.

CSO: 4700/1291

## ENERGY MINISTER ASSURES OIL SUPPLY

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 13 May '82 p 20

[Article by Francis Raymond]

[Text]

ENERGY Minister Kabeere M'Mbijewe yesterday assured Kenyans the country had enough oil in reserve and there should not be any panic over the stranded oil tanker outside Kilindini port.

The Minister flew from Nairobi to ascertain the position of the tanker loaded with 80,000 tonnes of crude oil from Saudi Arabia to the Mombasa oil refinery and which went aground on Sunday night.

He told a press conference: "I would like to dispel rumours that following this incident the

country might run short of oil. We have enough oil in the country in all petrol stations, Nairobi storage, in the pipeline and at the oil refinery."

He added: "I would like to take this opportunity to guarantee the nation that everything is under control and there is no cause for alarm."

The Minister was addressing the Press on board the Kenya Port Authority's VIP launch, *Mkizi*, which took him to the scene where the giant oil tanker, *Eva*, went aground along the channel leading to the port.

Accompanied by KPA managing director, Mr. Jonathan Mturi and his deputy, Mr. Joshua Kogonde, Mr. M'Mbijewe said: "One thing I am glad about is that the stranded tanker has not

blocked the channel and all people concerned including technicians are busy working to get it off the ground."

The Minister said everything was going all right and he congratulated KPA and all concerned in the salvage operation of the tanker.

"We specifically came down here to assess the position and discuss with technical people and those concerned with the problem. It is simple and it will be accomplished," he said.

The Minister stressed that it will not take time to refloat the ship and that everything possible was being done to move it clear of where it went aground.

Two other visible wrecks of a *Kota Menang* and *Globe Star*, the two ships which went aground in late 1970s could be seen some miles away from the *Eva*, which remained firmly grounded on the coral sand.

Also with the Minister aboard the luxury *Mkizi*, to see the stranded tanker were Capt. Radiadis, a representative of the tanker's owner who flew from Greece, Mr. R.J.G. Nichols, managing director of Mackenzie Maritime, agents of the tanker, his assistant general manager Mr. D.S. Shirazy, Oil Refinery general manager Mr. G. J. Van Luijk, Mr. Stachys Muturi, deputy secretary (technical) Ministry of Energy, and Mr. M. E. Jin, co-ordinator loss control Caltex Oil.

The 799 feet long tanker went aground as she was bringing in tons of crude oil for refinery

## DESCRIPTION OF NAIROBI BUTCHERS' QUARTER

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 7 May 82 p 13

[Article by Peter Ngunjiri]

[Text]

THE cowboys move in, with the cows leading them. They drive the animals at such great speed that the animals move with their tails in the air, blowing a cloud of dust, or at this season, spattering mud in the air.

It is reminiscent of the Great Wild West of movies, but this one is a picture with a difference. It is destination Dagoretti Market, in Kiambu District.

Similarly, the cowboys are with a difference. Unlike those of the Wild West, these ones do not have horses. Instead they run behind their animals, flogging them when they refuse to move at the required speed.

The animals are driven into the empty market place, which is fenced off, and standing on one leg, leaning on their spears or *finbos* the cowboys wait. It is not an auction as such, for the animals have already been bought. The animal owners are butchers, and it is them that supply about half the Nairobi daily requirement of meat supply.

The animals wait to be slaughtered. Then when hungry Nairobi residents move to Kariakor, they munch the *nyama ya kuchoma* with relish. Many of them do not even know where this meat comes from; when they are hungry, such are not the questions that are asked.

The Nairobi City boundary, with the Kiambu District, cuts through Dagoretti Market (not to be confused with Dagoretti Corner, which is in Nairobi). The market proper, presenting about three quarters of the whole area, is in Kiambu District, while only a quarter of it is in the city

section.

Five days a week, the market is a sleepy outfit during the day. Wednesdays and Saturdays are market days, when women coming from many parts of Kiambu District come to sell, among other things, *sukuma wiki*, and then, Dagoretti Market lives to its name.

Real action at Dagoretti is at night and some parts of each morning. Life at the market starts at 2 a.m. each morning, while the rest of the country is still asleep transforming the area into a near riot, as men with knives, mallets and some even carrying guns, rush to start working, with torches tied on their heads, making them look like alligator hunters or underground miners.

They say that traditions die hard; they are only passed on from one generation to the other. It is true in the case of Dagoretti Market, for from time immemorial, the people of Dagoretti Market have been known to be butchers.

As these traditions were passed on, some modifications that faced the slaughter industry have made it better for them. Apart from work having been made easier, there are more animals slaughtered each morning, and that means an increase in job opportunities.

There are various categories of work, and according to one's age, skills, and experience they earn quite substantial amount of money. As time for their work gets due, the market comes into life with a lot of noise as the workers, ranging in age from 5 years to 70-plus, men and women gather in those small hours of the morning.

Controlling this slaughter business are the people who



purchase the animals and have them transported here. The rest of the group, and a large one at that, is just stationed at the market, waiting for the animals. They are definitely the ones who keep Nairobi's working population alive.

One man in the slaughter business, who declined to be named, told me, "We buy the cows from Ongata Rongai, or the Kibiku Holding ground. At times we travel to far places like Kitale, Eldoret, Nandi area, Emali, Naivasha and we buy some from Livestock Marketing Division."

After the animals have been purchased, each man marks his animals with his special mark, and if they had been purchased from far, they come by rail up to Dagoretti station, or if they are from Ongata Rongai or Kibiku, they are handed to the Maasai or even Kikuyu cowboys, here referred to as drivers, who drive them to Dagoretti.

For each animal leaving Kajiado District, a cess of 7/- is paid, and the buyers hand them to the cowboys, paying them 8/- per animal, and they leave by cars. The animal drivers are very fast and no time is ever wasted on the way.

There are four slaughter houses at Dagoretti, three on the Kiambu side, and one on Nairobi side. Each butcher has a supervisor, who looks after the animals, and who knows how many will be slaughtered, and by whom. The supervisor knows the mark used by his employer.

The slaughter house provides a place where animals are kept overnight, and the butchers pay the owners of the slaughter houses 30/- per animal, which includes the fee to be paid to the meat inspector and in the morning, there are the professional "slaughterers" whose job is to do the killing, skin the animal, and turn it into "meat".

After the animals to be killed have been identified, the slaughterers, with torches tied on their heads, pounce on the cows with either a mallet, or hit them with bullets, and the second it goes down, a Muslim employed by the slaughter house owner, chops off its head with a very

sharp knife while offering prayers, for without them, fellow Muslims cannot consume that meat.

What happens afterwards is like lightning. The professional slaughterer turns the animal upside down, and in no time, he has removed the skin from the underside and gets the animal hoisted on a pulley, hind legs first, and the skin falls off. It is collected by one of his gang.

Following the skin, will be the intestines, which are removed carefully, without spilling their contents, then the liver, lungs and pancreas, and another man takes them, and marks them. There is another lot which takes the intestines out, cleans them by removing the waste, and they are ready to be sold as *matumbo*.

The carcass is cut into two equal halves, and they are removed from the slaughter house, and the man moves to another cow. While this is going on, there is a man whose job is to wash the floor, to avoid the slaughter men from slipping on the floor, and to keep the place clean.

These men can finish off up to an average of 40 cows. Due to the speed involved, and taking into account that the work is done at night, some people have often slaughtered cows which did not belong to them. If it happens to be a mistake, the butchers will agree on replacing, but if it was deliberate, with intentions to steal, a heavy fine is imposed — one pays two cows.

When the tempo is high, there is another group, mainly composed of kids, who come with gallons to collect blood, which is later sold to people who make *mutura*, and also collect immature foetus, which are sold as dog food to dog owners.

The place is well served at night, for there are kiosks, which sell all items that may be needed, ranging from *mandazi*, boiled maize to cigarettes, sodas and matches, and their business thrives very well as a result of these hard working men of Dagoretti, who are paid on the spot.

The meat is graded into, "commercial standard", FAQ, (fairly average quality) grades by a vet grader, and at 6 a.m. the meat

inspector comes in. One butcher told me, "We are also qualified to inspect the meat, but many abused the privilege, and we are not allowed to do it any more."

While the inspection is going on, butchery owners from Nairobi are waiting outside, so as to buy the meat, and selling is normally determined by weight, and I was informed that, if there are many cows slaughtered, prices might go down.

This industry gives employment to many. There is yet another lot, which has transport vehicles, and are neither butchers nor butchery owners. So their work is to transport meat for other people, and are paid for the services.

After the meat is bought, there is the group, mainly of women from the Eastlands, who come to buy the intestines, and people who prefer *matumbo*, or those who cannot afford to buy meat, are here taken care of.

When things look like they are ready to clear, to mark the end of the working day at Dagoretti, on the fields nearby, are vultures which wait to take charge after the people have left the scene. They clean the bones that are left scattered all over.

The aftermath of the whole work, is the stench, which makes Dagoretti a very unpleasant place to live. All the waste and the blood that are left lying all over produce a very offensive smell, and if a biogas project is started here, the people of Dagoretti will never run short of cooking gas, or electricity, for the raw material is readily available.

To ensure that this smell is gotten rid off, and that River Nyongara is not polluted any more by the dirt that flows in from the slaughter houses, one leading butcher is putting up an ultra-modern slaughter house, which has its own water supply, unlike the rest, and when ready, slaughter business at Dagoretti Market will be transformed.

It is the cowboys that open the working day at Dagoretti, and it is them that close it. Standing in the market place, still on one leg, leaning on their spears, they tell the butchers that cows were late in, since the grass is greener and longer and they now await to be paid.

## RAILWAYS GIVEN 14 DAYS TO PAY

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 6 May 82 p 1

[Article by Gideon Mulaki]

[Text]

THE Nairobi City Council has given Kenya Railways 14 days' notice to pay a Sh. 50-million debt.

Non-payment will result in discontinuation of services, including water supply, to KR establishments, Town Clerk George Wanjie said.

The notice, he said, was effective from last Tuesday, Mr. Wanjie told newsmen after Nakuru Mayor D.K. Kanyi and Meru County Council chairman Elphas Njue paid a courtesy call on Nairobi Mayor Nathan Kahara.

Mr. Wanjie said the notice to Kenya Railways was part of the council's efforts to collect long-overdue debts.

He said the council had received no positive response from the Railways despite demands. "They have been dodging and now we require the Sh. 50 million to be paid within two weeks; otherwise stern measures will be taken, Mr.

Wanjie said, adding that the council would have no alternative but to disconnect the essential services it offered the Railways, starting with water.

At a full meeting on Tuesday night, the council warned that all debtors would soon be given a deadline to pay the debts. The meeting asked the City Treasurer to issue notices to debtors.

The council had come under heavy fire in recent weeks for its laxity in collecting debts totalling to millions of shillings from Government institutions, parastatal organisations and individuals. Some of the debts are said to be outstanding since 1968.

Addressing the visiting civic leaders, Mayor Kahara, who is Chairman of the Association of Local Government Authorities of Kenya (ALGAK), said he had received many letters from various local authorities on the issue of the proposed withdrawal of cess.

CSO: 4700/1291

## NEW HOPE SEEN FOR POWER PLANT

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 29 Apr 82 p 3

[Text]

THE problem-ridden molasses plant being built in Kisumu will be supported by the Government until it starts work, Industry Minister Andrew Omanga said on Tuesday.

Mr. Omanga said the problems which have plagued the project since initiation were soluble.

Shares in the plant are owned by the Government and Madhvani International.

Speaking when he called on Nyanza PC Francis Cherogony, Mr. Omanga refuted reports that there were attempts either by the Government or other parties to kill the project.

The Minister assured Mr. Cherogony that the Government, which holds 60 per cent shares, and the other investors, Chem-food Investment Corporation and Advait International, were determined to see the project to completion.

The Minister's assurance came a day after several Nyanza Members of Parliament had decided to seek an audience with him and the President to know the fate of the project.

An agreement signed in 1977 led to the creation of the Kenya Chemical and Food Corporation which was to be responsible for the construction and eventual operation of the

complex.

The Government and the private investors estimated the project would cost Sh. 560 million to complete and would be completed in 1981.

But the initial projected cost has since risen to about Sh. 1,500 million.

The Kenya Chemical and Food Corporation attributes the delay in completing the project on factors beyond the control of the Government and the investors.

The reasons cited include appreciation of the American dollar and the Swiss Franc — the currencies in which the imported equipment was bought and the initial delay by the Government to allocate land to the complex. Equipment which had already been offloaded at Mombasa, incurred heavy demurrage and storage costs.

Towards the end of last year, the project was reportedly short of some Sh. 200 million. More than Sh. 1,000 million had already been spent on it.

Of the amount, the Government, being the major shareholder had guaranteed Sh. 800 million in foreign loans.

Early this year, a source at the Kenya Chemical and Food Corporation said arrangements had been finalised with foreign financiers to obtain the remaining Sh. 200 million.

## BOOST IN STORAGE CAPACITY PLANNED

Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 28 Apr 82 p 5

[Text] The National Cereals and Produce Board has plans to increase cereals storage facilities in Meru from the current 7,000 bags to 200,000 bags, an Assistant Minister for Agriculture, Mr Livingstone Marita, said. He said.

He said that the board has, however, not built any stores for cereals in Meru District since 1980.

He was answering a question by Mathews Karauri (Nyambene South) who wanted to know the number of stores built by the board since 1980.

Mr Marita said that the existing facilities could store 7,000 bags but the board was considering expanding storage capacity for 200,000 bags in 1982/83 financial year if funds were available.

Transport and Communications Minister, Henry Kosgey said the Government had no money at present for providing a motor boat to facilitate communication between Mageda Island in Lake Victoria and the mainland.

The Minister was responding to a question by Bondo MP William Onamo. The MP complained that wananchi in those areas were suffering and there had been several incidents of canoes capsizing.

### Public

Mr Kosgey said that the Kenya Railways Corporation as a public utility was constantly reviewing its operations to ensure its services reached as wide a cross-section of the people as possible.

He said expansion of these services to new areas where needed, was however, dependent on the resources available.

"There are at the moment not enough craft to supply all the services needed. There, however, is an on-going programme of rehabilitation of marine services, both piers and craft, and when this is completed and adequate vessels are available, then the possibilities of extending the services to new areas such as the one mentioned by the Honourable Member will be undertaken."

An Assistant Minister, Mr Meshak ole Nampaso told Bungoma Central MP, Mr Peter Kisuya that the income generated by Chwele sub-post office fell far below the required minimum target. As a result, he said, it was not included for upgrading in the current 1979-1983 Development Plan.

CSO: 4700/1291

## BRIEFS

**TANKER RUNS AGROUND**--A tanker carrying thousands tons of crude oil ran aground just outside the Mombasa port along the channel on Sunday night. Tugs from the Kenya Ports Authority were mobilised in a salvage operation which by yesterday evening was not yet successful. Shipping sources said that the maximum permit draft along the channel was 44 feet and that it was feared because of the ongoing dredging of the channel and the removal of cubic feet of sand and rocks, water tide must have been low. The tanker, Eva, is carrying 80,000 long tons of Arabian crude oil for the Mombasa oil refinery. It was feared she might have ran on the rock while trying to keep away from the dredging zone. The sources said unless it was removed on time from the spot, the tanker might pose a risk to other cargo vessels sailing in and out of the port. Another source said that another ship, Sanko Progress, was due to arrive in Mombasa last Tuesday, May 6, but she encountered some difficulties along the harbour's channel. The ship had to stay in the stream overnight. [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 11 May 82 p 16]

**UNEMPLOYED YOUNG TURN THUGS**--An operation has been mounted to uproot all the maize which was illegally planted in Viwanda Sub-location in Nakuru Municipality to keep the area clean and curb the menace of night thuggery which has been increasing. The operation which was launched yesterday by by area assistant chief Dan Olum followed several appeals and warnings by the local administration and municipal authorities to residents not to plant maize within the municipal area because thugs hid in the maize shambas to waylay, harass and rob innocent wananchi at night. Mr Olum said that areas to be covered by the uprooting operation are Ronda, Shabab and London estates. He added that maize in the areas had become hideouts for unemployed youths who had made a bad habit of robbing people and regarded the practice as a job. He appealed to unskilled youths who go to towns to look for jobs to enrol in village polytechnics in their home areas before venturing into towns where it was difficult to employ them. He said some of the youths shunned manual work and preferred white-collar jobs although they were not qualified for such jobs.--KNA [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 13 May 82 p 10]

**POLICE TORTURE CHARGE**--Three of the four men accused of murdering a woman and her three children yesterday claimed they were being tortured in police custody and forced to make statements. Murang'a district magistrate J.S. Kamuru ordered that all four be remanded in maximum-security prison at Kamiti after an application to that effect was made by Cpl. Timon Alima prosecuting. The case against George Karanja Mwangi, Francis Karanja Kamau, Marcellinus Muchoki Kamau and Vincent Mwangi Thegea would be mentioned again on May 26. They are charged with killing Muthoni Thegea, Paul Maina Thegea (25), Vincent Mwangi Muthoni (5) and Nyambura Muthoni (18) on the night of May 9 and 10 at Kambirwa Village Murang'a District. The accused were not required to plead to the charge. The fourth accused Thegea, who is general manager of Mwea Rice Mills in Kirinyaga, is the father of Mwangi, the first accused. Mwangi asked the court why his father had been charged. At the same time they complained of being tortured. The third accused, Muchoki Kamau said they were being forced to make statements. [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 12 May 82 p 28]

**KENYA PLANE IN SOMALIA**--The Air Kenya aircraft reported missing yesterday landed in Somalia and the pilot with his passenger were believed to have been held up by authorities there. The pilot. Capt. Goktug Bayraktar, 31, and his passenger identified as Fatuma Didi, landed their twin-engine plane in either Bardare or Lugh 60 miles inside Somalia. When the Somali Ambassador to Kenya, Mr. Abdurahaman Hussein Mohamoud was contacted to comment on the fate of the pilot and passenger, he said he had no information about the Kenyan aircraft. [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 14 May 82 p 28]

**DEFIANT PUPILS SENT HOME**--Murang'a High School was yesterday closed indefinitely after its 630 students defied a headmaster's order to have their dormitories and boxes inspected by teachers. The school's 80 non-resident students were also sent home for supporting their colleagues in the protest. Police were called by the headmaster to disperse the demonstrating students. The students were ordered by their teachers during the 10 a.m. break to go in to their dormitories and open their boxes for a search. Some of the students had agreed to have their belongings inspected but changed their minds on the instigation of others. In the afternoon the students were recalled to the dormitories by the headmaster but refused and staged a peaceful demonstration. Later they were addressed by the headmaster and ordered to leave the compound. No damages were reported except for one student who was injured when they were fleeing from police. Headmaster Dominic Mwaura declined to give comment. Sources said all students had earlier been served with letters warning them not to carry civilian clothes to school this term. [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 14 May 82 p 28]

**NEW COTTON PRICES**--Agriculture Minister Munyua Waiyaki has approved new prices for cotton. According to a Notice in today's Kenya Gazette supplement, the prices to be paid to the producers in all areas are as follows: AR Seed Cotton per kilo 3/80 and BR Seed Cotton per kilo 1/85. The Notice, signed by the Chairman of the Cotton Lint and Seed Marketing Board, Mr Mathews J. Ogutu, and Agriculture Minister Munyua Waiyaki said the prices would be paid for cotton crop bought from July 1. [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 7 May 82 p 36]

**THREAT TO STOP UNION DUES**--The 450 members of the Kenya Union of Commercial, Food and Allied Workers at Unga Ltd., Nakuru yesterday threatened to withdraw their monthly dues unless secretary-general Sammy Muhanji takes urgent measures to solve their problems. The threat is contained in a telegram the workers sent to the union boss. And they threatened to stage a sit-in unless all their demands are met by the management. Three Unga shopstewards, Messrs Joseph Osala, Ndungu Ng'ang'a and James Muchai told the Nation that the company had for a long time promised to provide transport for workers on night shift but had not honoured it. Many workers, they said, were forced to walk long distances and some had at times been beaten by thugs on the way. The shopstewards accused the management of indiscriminately laying off workers without adequate notice. They said that whenever a worker died no adequate assistance was given by the firm. Victimisation and intimidation of workers were also alleged against the firm. The shopstewards said that the workers were labouring without a break from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily. And a machine previously handled by 14 people was now being manned by four, they said. [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 7 May 82 p 3]

**CRIME RATE UP**--The Permanent Secretary in the Office of the Vice-President and Ministry of Home Affairs, Mr D. Mwiraria, has said crime is on the increase in the country and the Government is spending a substantial amount of money each year to train probation officers in rehabilitating offenders. Opening a district probation officers workshop at the Kenya Institute of Administration in Nairobi on Tuesday, Mr Mwiraria observed that crime was a deep-rooted socio-economic problem which if left unchecked would undermine an entire society completely. He added that to curb such a problem the officers should determine the root causes of crime.--KNA [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 6 May 82 p 11]

**MYSTERY SURROUNDS ODINGA LECTURES**--London--Considerable confusion now surrounds a lecture tour which was to have been undertaken by veteran Kenyan politician Oginga Odinga who has been in London since last week. The human rights activist and labour peer Lord Brockway told the Nation last week that he and a group of friends had made tentative arrangements for Mr Odinga to address Members of Parliament and others on the role of Africa in the eighties. When I spoke to Lord Brockway today, he told me that he had not heard from Mr Odinga and he was "very surprised." Lord Brockway who as Fenner Brockway was a champion of the struggle for independence by African nations said he did not know if the opening lecture, due to take place in a House of Commons committee room on Thursday, would now take place. As for Mr Odinga himself, he is staying with friends in London and was not available to comment on the situation. [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 6 May 82 p 1]

**RUSTLERS UNLEASH TERROR WAVE**--Kolongolo and Lunyu areas of Trans-Nzoia District have been hit anew by armed cattle rustlers. About 300 angry residents of the area crowded at the Kitale constituency office of the Assistant Minister for Home Affairs, Mr Fred Gumo who is their MP, yesterday and demanded to know what action was being taken on their security. They told the MP that armed rustlers had raided the area in the last four days stealing 200 cattle, several sheep, goats and fowls. They claimed that the



raids had forced many people to transfer their animals to Kitale suburbs. Although units of the GSU and some police operated in the affected areas they said none of the stolen livestock had been recovered. Mr Gumo visited the Endebess-Kolongolo road and found a number of cattle, sheep and goats which had allegedly been moved from the raided areas. The MP confirmed with a veterinary official that a large number of livestock movement permits had been issued to people from the area. The officials said other animals seemed to have been moved without permit. Apparently concerned over the banditry, Mr Gumo called on Trans-Nzoia DC Anton Oyier and bitterly complained that his people had been terrorised for long by Ngorokos. He asked for a major operation by security forces and youth wingers. [Excerpt] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 5 May 82 p 5]

**TARMACKING OF ISIOLO/MOYALE ROAD**--Plans are underway to tarmac the Isiolo/Moyale road, Eastern Provincial Commissioner John Etemesi has said. Mr Etemesi said that the road which is part of the Nairobi to Addis Ababa highway would boost trade between Kenya and Ethiopia once properly constructed. Mr Etemesi was addressing hundreds of wananchi who gathered at Marsabit stadium when the PC toured the district accompanied by several provincial departmental heads last week. Stressing that the Government had set up development committees so wananchi could be involved in development planning, Mr Etemesi lashed out at Government officers who returned money to the Treasury while many projects remained incomplete. The PC promised farmers in Mountain Division that National Cereals Board officers would soon visit the district to buy maize. But he advised wananchi to ensure there was enough food for consumption before selling all their produce. Mr Etemesi was conducted around the district by the local DC, Mr Ali Sheikh, an Assistant Minister for Environment and Natural Resources, Mr Mohammed Adichare, who is also MP for Marsabit South; and the new MP for Marsabit North, Mr Abdulkadir Yasani. Longmans Kenya Limited has donated books worth over 100,000/- to schools in Marsabit District. A representative of the company, Mr Pon Openda who was introduced to Marsabit residents by Coast PC Luka Galgalo said the books will be distributed to both primary and secondary schools. [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 4 May 82 p 4]

**75 PERCENT SCHOOL HIKE**--School fees in all Mombasa Municipal Council primary schools are to go up by 75 percent. At the council's monthly meeting held recently, it was resolved that fees be raised from 85/- to 150/- per term. The recommendation was made by the Education Committee after numerous requests from headmasters. What remained was approval from the Minister for Local Government, Mr Stanley Oloitipiti before the resolution is implemented. The council has also approved expenditure of 1,707,892/- for the construction of 16 new classrooms in Mombasa. The new classrooms will be built in schools in Kisauni, Mwakirunge, Ganjoni, Likoni, Utange, Shimo-LaTewa, Kwa Jomvu, Mtongwe and on the Mombasa island. Meanwhile the acting Municipal Education officer, Mr H.M.C. Madenge has said in his report that last year's CPE results showed a general decline as in previous years. [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 4 May 82 p 1]

**MAIZE STOCK SWELLS**--Trans Nzoia District Commissioner Antony Oyier has said that over 1.6 million bags of maize have been delivered at the Kitale Cereals and Produce Board depot to date. The DC who was speaking during the Labour Day celebrations at Kitale said that more maize was still being ferried to the depot. Mr Oyier said that of total Agricultural Finance Corporation loans given out Sh. 51 million has been repaid. He gave credit to the small-scale farmers whose efforts in loan repayment were more commended than the large-scale farmers. He criticised rich and large-scale farmers for refusing to pay the loans in time and threatened to publish their names at chiefs' offices in a month's time unless they cleared the outstanding loan arrears. Referring to a recent incident in which two night watchmen were butchered by thugs in Kitale town, the DC assured wananchi that the police were investigating to bring the culprits to book. Saying that the Government was capable of safeguarding wananchi, Mr Oyier said there was no cause for alarm. He, however, urged them to assist the Government in apprehending criminals. Mr Oyier accused some landlords of renting their house to strangers. He also condemned some local people for harbouring suspects and said this had made it difficult for the Government to curb crime. Mr Oyier advised employers and workers to solve their trade disputes amicably rather than indulging in court actions or strikes. The rally was also addressed by the District Labour Officer Mr Richard Kisia, Kitale Mayor, Coun. Okul and various trade union officials.--KNA [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 4 May 82 p 11]

**PASTOR STONED BY MUSLIM FANATICS**--Swift action by plainclothes policemen saved a Christian preacher, Pastor Abraham Sufi from stone-throwing Muslim fanatics in Mandera town at the weekend. The policemen had a hard time controlling the crowd. Two people were arrested during the incident and are expected to appear in court soon. Pastor Sufi of the African Inland Church (AIC) is the first Somali Christian to preach to Muslims in the district. Last year, Pastor Sufi and other Christians were stoned by an angry mob while preaching in the open air in Garissa. But the pastor told Christians at last weekend's service that persecution of Christians was not a new thing in the history of Christianity. He said that Muslims and Christians should work together to hasten development in the country. He said that Jesus Christ was on several occasions confronted by angry people and eventually suffered death on the cross. Pastor Sufi said that all believers had the same goal as spreading the word of God, irrespective of their denominations. He cited President Moi's constant call for freedom of worship and observed that people had not learned to respect each other's religion.--KNA [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 4 May 82 p 3]

**MARSABIT PEOPLE VERSUS RUSTLERS**--Wananchi in Marsabit District have been told to co-operate with the Government by giving information on the whereabouts of cattle rustlers and bandits. The call was made on Thursday by Eastern Provincial Commissioner John Etemesi when he addressed a baraza at Marsabit Stadium. He told residents they could end insecurity in the area by living as one people. Mr Etemesi was on a two-day tour of the district and was accompanied by the Coast Provincial Commissioner Lucas Galgalo, two Assistant Ministers, Mr Halake Fayo and Mohamed Adichare, all area MPs and Kanu and district leaders, several provincial heads of department and Nakuru Kanu chairman Kariuki Chotara. Mr Etemesi warned people in the area against

sheltering and sympathising with bandits and wondered whether without their protection and assistance the bandits would continue to cause fear in the area and carry out cattle rustling. He urged people to cultivate love and good relations with their Ethiopian neighbours and promote mutual respect and tolerance. The PC stressed the need for soil conservation, education and afforestation in the area, observing that these would provide a strong base for faster development. Earlier, Marsabit District Commissioner Ali Sheikh commended security forces in the area for helping stamp out lawlessness. He told Mr Etemesi that nearly 100 camels and 600 goats rustled in the northern part of the district had been recovered and that Ethiopian authorities had promised to return others which had crossed to their side.--KNA [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 1 May 82 p 5]

BABY DOOM--The Southern Rift valley Family Planning Association of Kenya (KFPK) area chairman Mr Ayub Siele has warned wananchi that the current rate of population increase in the country could lead to a gloomy future if action is not taken to arrest the situation. [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 3 May 82 p 3]

SAILORS TO 'INVADE' MOMBASA--Mombasa will be invaded this weekend when the nine-ship task group of the United States Navy calls in for a five-day visit with 8,000 officers and men. Leading the nine-ship task group will be the aircraft carrier USS John F. Kennedy. On board the flagship will be Rear Admiral E.H. Martin, commander of a United States Navy task group. Accompanying USS John F. Kennedy will be two destroyers, Barney and Spruance; submarine cavalla; cruiser Josephus Daniels; frigates Robert E. Peary and Marvin Shields; repair ship Hector and replenishment oiler, Wichita. Some of the warships are due to arrive today but the aircraft carrier arrives tomorrow. The ships are due to leave on May 7. The ships will take sometime cruising in the Indian Ocean before sailing home to North Virginia. The Mombasa-based consul of the American Embassy in Kenya, Mr Robert Gribbin said the arrival of the navy would be a big boost to businessmen in the country and particularly in Mombasa. Mr Gribbin said sailors would spend about \$2.2 million during their stay in Kenya. [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 1 May 82 p 9]

LAND SHORTAGE--The Minister for Lands, Settlement and Physical Planning, Mr G.G. Kariuki said there was no land for settling people. The Government, he said, had settled 70,000 families since independence. "I think Members should advise their constituents that I have no more land on which to settle people," he added. Mr Kariuki called on the people who had been promised land to be patient while the Government was planning to demarcate the plots. Mr Kariuki was contributing to the debate on the motion for adjournment. The Minister appealed to all Kenyans to help safeguard the stability President Moi had established in the country. "I am sure some manoeuvres might be made to interfere with that stability," Mr Kariuki said. He called on all leaders to try to interpret properly whatever the President did or said. Karachuonyo MP Phoebe Asiyo amused the House when she claimed there were some Kanu members who were using their positions to sway women in Luoland. "Whichever way they do it," she said, "women will win." She described the move as a dangerous trend in the Luo politics. Mrs Asiyo called on Ministers

and other Government officials to explain to wananchi the economic problems facing the world to avoid rumours. [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 30 Apr 82 p 5]

**\$10M. FOR ROAD PROJECT--**Finance Minister Arthur Magugu today signs an agreement for a \$10 million loan with the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA). The loan, payable in 20 years, has an interest rate of 8 percent. It will finance the construction of a 121 km. road linking Lodwar and Kakuma. The bank's commitment represents 20.4 percent of the total cost of the project estimated to cost US \$49.12 million. The Saudi Fund for Development will provide US \$19.44 million, the Kenya Government will give \$17.68 million and the Norwegian Agency for Development (NORAD) \$2 million. A Norwegian company, Norcunconsult will supervise work on the project which starts in January next year. The project constitutes the Kenyan portion of the proposed regional road linking Lodwar and the Sudanese town of Juba. With an economic return rate of an estimated 9.2 percent, the project is expected to boost tourism and regional cooperation. Later, Mr Magugu will address the 8th annual meeting of BADEA's board of governors. The meeting, to be held at the Friendship Hall, will be opened by President Gaafar Numeiry. He will be met on arrival by Dr Chedly Ayari, Director-General of BADEA and other officials. Set up in January 1975, BADEA has so far approved commitments amounting to \$488 million to 40 African countries which are not members of the Arab League. [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 30 Apr 82 p 4]

**SUGAR FACTORY PLAN ACCEPTED--**A factory to manufacture refined sugar will be built in Butula, Busia District. The green light for the construction of the factory was given by the Busia District Agricultural Committee on Wednesday. An application by Bijal Company to build the factory in the area was approved by the District Agricultural Committee on condition that the company would fulfil the official requirements. The company in a letter to Busia district agricultural officer Jacob Odondi said it had found a site for the factory and would rely much on sugar cane supplied by farmers in the area. The factory is expected to be a big boost to sugar cane farmers in the area whose produce has in the past not been accepted by the Mumias Sugar Company because they are not within the out growers zone. The committee, chaired by Busia DO Joseph Kariuki, expressed disappointment over a new variety of cotton introduced in the district last year. The agricultural officer told the meeting that the new variety contributed to the fall in the area's cotton output from 8.4 million kilogrammes in 1980 to 5.4 million kilogrammes last year. Wananchi have been advised to make use of the facilities offered by the Kenya Industrial Estates. Industry Minister Andrew Ombia made the appeal when touring the Kisumu Industrial Estates yesterday.--KNA [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 29 Apr 82 p 9]

**COMMUNITY, NOT JAIL FOR CRIMINALS--**Petty criminals in jail are exhausting funds which could be used for development, the Rift Valley Provincial Probation Officer, Mr Benjamin arap Kimaiyo said yesterday. He said there were 27,000 prisoners serving various jail terms. Mr Kimaiyo told district probation officers in Nakuru that crime was aggravated by lack of compensation to victims of theft, improper use of the fine option by courts and lack of trained personnel in the probation department to effectively educate wananchi.

And he supported Vice-President Mwai Kibaki's recent proposal that petty criminals be jailed in the community instead of prisons to save on state funds. The department, he said, was concerned about the current high population of prisoners. And the situation grew worse because even petty offenders were jailed instead of being placed on probation, he said. Mr Kimaiyo said wananchi were still ignorant of probation because of several constraints the department was experiencing. "We are trying hard to prevent the occurrence of crimes...by penetrating the community and holding discussions with the wananchi," Mr Kimaiyo said.--KNA [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 29 Apr 82 p 3]

DEVALUED SHILLING CAUSES CLAIMS--Three items are claiming thousands of shillings as compensation from the Mombasa Municipal Council in respect of losses on supply of goods whose prices have gone up because of devaluation. The companies are: Westco Kenya Ltd. who were awarded a tender for supply of drugs; Achelis (Kenya) Ltd., for laboratory equipment and Panaf Construction Co. for the construction of 42 bungalows on North Mainland. Following the devaluation of the Kenya shilling against major international currencies the firms claim, the prices of the items delivered to the council and those which were yet to be delivered had to be increased to correspond with the new exchange rates under which the local importers had to pay the foreign suppliers. The council has asked the companies to furnish the town clerk with documents from the Central Bank of Kenya and the Customs Department regarding the import of the items before their requests are considered. The council has, however, awarded a 1,003,225/85 claim submitted by Somji Bookshop against the original amount of 802,580/70, on the grounds that the items tendered for were urgently required in schools. Panaf Construction Co has proposed that the price of items supplied by it be increased from 7,835,582/- to 8,757,079/-. [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 28 Apr 82 p 1]

RUSINGA ISLAND--A causeway to connect Rusinga Island with mainland South Nyanza District will be built this year, Nyanza provincial engineer in the Ministry of Transport and Communications, Mr Joel Muthunga Wanyoike announced on Monday. Addressing the Provincial Development Committee meeting under the chairmanship of Provincial Commissioner Mr Francis Cherogony, he said that the causeway would cost Sh. 3.5 million and work on it would be started in July if the committee agreed. The committee, while consenting to the project, said that the people of the island were facing untold hardships as the only ferry service had ceased operations. The MP for Mbita, Mr Alphonse Okuku, who is also an Assistant Minister for Regional Development, Science and Technology, said that even when the ferry was there it had been operating far below expectations. Mr Wanyoike also announced that the Kisii/Awendo road had been overlaid to give it a longer lifespan due to the heavy traffic in the area. On the Kisii/Kisumu road, Mr Wanyoike said that his Ministry was doing resealing and general maintenance work as overlaying was not needed.--KNA [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 28 Apr 82 p 4]

FOOD SHORTAGE DENIED--Kenya has enough grain to feed its present population but has set a target of 19.5 million bags as security against seasonal shortfalls in production, Agriculture Minister Munyua Waiyaki said yesterday. Dr Waiyaki was reacting to a Kenya News Agency report on Monday that the Ministry's grain target was short by about 9 million bags. "We are satisfied with the present stock of grains. We have enough to feed our people," he said. Dr Waiyaki said food production was needed to be stepped up every year to meet the needs of a growing population and the country would need a stockpile of 19.5 million bags by 1990. Dr Waiyaki on Monday addressed the annual general meeting of the Kenya Freedom From Hunger Council and pledged his Ministry support to the organisation. Dr Waiyaki said the Government appreciated the good work done by the council. "I promise that I will personally ensure that my Ministry's contribution to the council whether in finance or in kind or technical will be provided," Dr Waiyaki said. He thanked the KFFH Council for food stores it completed last year at a cost of 158,000/-. Council chairman James Mageria said more than Sh. 5.9m. was spent on the Food Security Programme. The amount covered eight agricultural/irrigation schemes. The Speaker of the National Assembly, Mr Fred Mati, who also spoke, thanked foreign donors who had continued to help the council. [Text] [Nairobi DAILY NATION in English 28 Apr 82 p 4]

CSO: 4700/1291



## PODIER OPENS MRU MARINE TRAINING INSTITUTE IN MARSHALL CITY

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 20 May 82 pp 1, 6

[Text]

The Mano River Union Marine Training Institute situated in Marshall City, about 22 miles from Monrovia, was officially opened Wednesday by the Vice Head of State, Maj. General J. Nicholas Podier, on behalf of the Head of State, CJC Samuel K. Doe.

General Podier, speaking at the ceremony, said the opening of the institute marks the beginning of another significant chapter in the history of the Mano River Union, comprising of Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone.

He described the establishment of the institute as a concrete example of the faith which the Union member states have in each other in the collective approach in solving their common problems.

He assured potential donors that the three member states would continue to fulfill their financial and moral commitments to the institute.

General Podier urged the institute staff to utilize all resources at their disposal, saying that the success of any institution depends on efficient and experienced staff.

Mr. T. Ernest Eastman, Secretary-General of the Union, who gave the opening statement, lauded the German government for its contribution towards the establishment of the Training Institute.

He disclosed that the government of the Federal Republic of Germany has made available \$2.7 million worth of equipment to the Institute, among other needed facilities.

On the Monrovia-Freetown Highway Project, Mr. Eastman said the Union has received \$80 million from donor agencies, including the African Development Bank, and that construction on the highway would commence in October this year.

Present at the occasion

were officials of government, members of the Diplomatic Corps and officials of the Liberia Shipping Association.

The Institute, which forms part of the Mano River Union's priority programs, Began its training scheme last February with 24 students from Liberia and Sierra Leone.

According to Captain D.C. Gilpin, Commandant at the Institute, the first phase of the training program is expected to last for 10 months and thereafter an eight-week session and advanced training courses will begin.

LINA

CSO: 4700/1292



FOREIGN MINISTER HONORS PAN AMERICAN PILOTS WHO PILOTED DOE

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 20 May 82 p 3

[Text]

The distinction of Knight Commander in the Humane Order of African Redemption was Tuesday conferred separately upon two Captains of Pan Am Airline, "Global International", Gray Edwards and James Buck who piloted Head of State Doe and Party on their recent 17-day-Afro-Asian-Arab Nations tour.

The Captains were later gowned Honorary Paramount Chiefs by Foreign Minister

H.Boima Fahnbulleh on behalf of Head of State Doe, as a token of the Liberian people's appreciation for their effective service during the Liberian leader's visit.

During the honoring ceremony, held at the foreign

Ministry, other members of the "Global International" were also presented certificates of merits and were gowned for their invaluable services rendered during the visits.

Speaking earlier, Foreign Minister Dr. Fahnbulleh told

the honorees that the gesture was an expression of the government of their services.

Captain Gray Edwards, expressed thanks and appreciation for the honor, and said members of his crew were delighted to serve the Liberian people.

Information Minister Col. Gray D. Allison was among government officials who attended the occasion.- LINA

CSO: 4700/1292

LOAN FOR LRPC REVIVAL

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 20 May 82 p 3

[Article by Lue Hinneh]

[Text]

The World Bank in Washington, has granted the Government of Liberia a \$1.3 million loan to revive the Liberia Rubber Processing Corporation located in Gbarnga City, Bong County.

Disclosing this during a meeting with British Ambassador D.G. Reid Wednesday, Agriculture Minister Captain Alfred Fromoyan said LRPC is expected to be re-opened towards the end of 1982.

Minister Fromoyan further mentioned that the plant which was shut down three years ago due to poor management and financial constraints, is aimed at

assisting small-scale farmers within the rural areas with transportation and operation cost.

Speaking at the occasion, Ambassador Reid said his country had agreed to train Liberians abroad in the field of Rubber Culture and would provide 12 experts to work along side Liberians at the Processing Plant in Gbarnga.

The British Envoy said in order to upgrade the rubber plant, four experts would be sent to Liberia yearly beginning this year to work in the plant for the period of three years.

CSO: 4700/1292

## ROK PLEDGES TO BROADEN SCOPE OF COOPERATION

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English pp 1, 6

[Excerpt]

Liberia and South Korea have pledged to broaden the scope of bilateral cooperation between the two countries, according to a joint communique issued Thursday in Seoul by the Liberian Leader, C-I-C Samuel K. Doe, and Korean President Chun Doo-Hwan.

The communique said Liberia and South Korea agreed to strengthen mutual economic cooperation particularly in rural and agricultural development, fishery and medium-sized industries and technology.

To this end, the communique said, South Korea would soon send an official economic delegation to Liberia to have detailed dis-

cussion on the matters with Liberian officials.

President Chun accepted C-I-C Doe's invitation to visit Liberia at a date to be announced later, the communique said, adding that Liberia would soon establish a resident embassy in Seoul.

Liberia, recognizing both South and North Korea, has so far no resident embassies in either state.

The Liberian Leader, holding a press conference before leaving Seoul, invited South Korean industrial firms to participate in his country's current national reconstruction projects, including the exploitation of raw materials.

CSO: 4700/1292

CANADIAN COMPANY ASSUMES NIOC'S MANAGEMENT

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 17 May 82 p 3

[Article by Sam H. Johnson]

[Text] The financially troubled National Iron Ore Company (NIOC), located upstream on River Mano in Grand Cape Mount, seems to be recovering steadily from its economic yoyo. Thanks to a \$67 million loan provided by several international financial institutions.

With this new investment, the company has embarked on a rehabilitation program necessary to ensure the continual mining of ore from the Mano Mines in southeastern Liberia.

The program will involve the improvement of operational facilities, particularly modification of the company's washing plant, the purchasing and re-building of equipment and the reconditioning of road and rail links to Monrovia and the Free Port from where the company ore is shipped abroad.

Met-Chem Inc. a Canadian company which has assumed management of NIOC replacing Mine Management Associates of Liberia has 18 months to complete the rehabilitation project.

The new investment is expected to give the Mines an additional 12 to 15 years life span according to Met-Chem Operations Director Larry E. Fischer, who was quick to add "that this does not mean that at the end of the 12th year the company will suddenly fold up operations. What we mean is that 12 to 15 years of ore reserve has been proven and indications that the market demand would be there."

Fischer, who heads the management team as general manager of NIOC told reporters during a recent press briefing that after rehabilitation the company's annual ore production will be increased to about 3.5 million tons annually, up from its present level of 1.3 million tons. Said he: "We expect to end up with a company that is re-organized and vibrant."

Asked whether the additional ore would pose problem in finding buyers Fischer said the occurrence of such a situation was not likely.

CSO: 4700/1292

LIBERIA

UK TO PROVIDE EXPERTS TO REVITALIZE LRPC

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 21 May 82 pp 1, 10

[Excerpt] The British Ambassador accredited to Liberia, Mr D.G. Reid has disclosed that his country has agreed to provide experts to help revitalize the Liberian Rubber Processing Corporation (LRPC).

An Agricultural Ministry release said this was disclosed Wednesday when the British envoy held talks with Agriculture Minister Captain Alfred Fromoyan on the possible revival of the rubber plan of the corporation in Bong County which was closed down three years ago due to poor management.

Ambassador Reid said toward the revival of the corporation, four groups of British experts will be assigned to the corporation for a period of 12 years.

Agriculture Minister Captain Alfred Fromoyan lauded the efforts of the British Government for taking keen interest in the development of the agricultural sector in Liberia.

According to Minister Fromoyan the revitalization program of the corporation is expected to begin at the end of this year.

CSO: 4700/1292

## PRC GRANTS LOAN FOR LIBSUCO REVIVAL, OTHER AID

Doe's Report

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 18 May 82 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Following several years of chilling business activities, the Liberia Sugar Corporation (LIBSUCO), located in Maryland County, is to be revived shortly. The revival scheme is to be effected with a \$13 million loan to be granted Liberia soon by the People's Republic of China.

The Liberian Leader Head of State Samuel K. Doe, announcing this Monday in a report to the nation at the end of a 17-day Afro-Asian-Arab shuttle said the loan is the result of talks he held in Peking recently with leaders of the Chinese Government.

Head of State who had been visiting China along with a 20-man government delegation (May 3 to 9), said "our talks with Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping and Premier Zhao Ziyang were most cordial and rewarding.

## INCREASED COOPERATION

"As a result of this visit," he told the Liberian people in a 20-minute speech Monday, "I can assure you, fellow citizens, of increased cooperation between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Liberia."

He said the Chinese Government had agreed to immediately put up the \$13 million required to place the lone sugar company in the country back into gear.

"This valuable assistance brings into realization our pledge to the people of Maryland County that we would revitalize that important industry," the Chairman of the People's Redemption Council said.

#### NATIONALIST CHINA

The sugar company chiefly established by Nationalist China here in the early 1970s has been experiencing serious economic setback since that time due several factors chief among which was the company's management team inability to keep it viable, its location...., to new two instances..

Nationalist China however, relinquished its sponsorship of the LIBSUCO towards the mid 1970s when it decided to close its diplomatic mission here in protest over the Liberian Government's decision to grant the People's Republic of China the right to establish a resident diplomatic mission here.

Peking then decided to take off from where the Taiwanese had left the sugar company. However, when LIBSUCO was entirely entrusted to Liberian

management, around mid 1975-76, the company began encountering harsh economic problems which remained until the situation went off hand between 1979 and 1981..

#### DONATIONS

Meantime, the Chinese Government has also donated 20 military jeeps to government for the use of the Armed Forces of Liberia. It has further given four 80-seater buses, as well as two Chinese limousines, to the Liberian Government, Head of State disclosed Monday.

A Chinese technical team is also expected to arrive in the country shortly to conduct feasibility studies for possible rebuilding and pavement of the Gompa-Tappita-Zwedru-Harper highway in the short run according to C-I-C Doe. Currently, the pavement of the country's chief highway ends in Gompa City, Nimba County.

#### Fahnbulleh Gives Additional Aid Details

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 20 May 82 p 3

[Text]

The governments of Liberia and the People's Republic of China have signed an 11-point communique in the areas of art, culture, education, sports, medicine and have agreed to undertake programs in the areas of the press and cinema and the social sciences.

The communique which was read at the Executive Mansion in Monrovia yesterday by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. H. Boima Fahnbulleh, following C-I-C Doe's return from a five-nation visit to Afro-Asian countries, shall enter in-

to force as soon as legal procedures are finalised by the two governments.

It is valid for a period of five years and automatically renewable for another successive five years unless either party requests its termination by serving a six-month advance notice prior to the termination date.

According to the communique, the two countries agreed to strengthen friendly cooperation and exchange performing tours by troupes of artists as well as hold art

and culture exhibitions in each other countries.

They also agreed to undertake programs of exchanges and cooperation in the field of education through visits and study lecture tours by teachers, scholars and specialists.

The agreement provides for scholarships to Liberian and Chinese students according to needs and possibilities to study in each other's countries and the facilitating of establishment of direct contacts and cooperation between institutions of higher learning.

The exchange of text books and other educational materials is encouraged as well as the attendance at international academic conferences by scholars, according to the communique.

The two countries agreed to strengthen contacts between sports organizations and send athletes, coaches and sports teams for friendly visits, competitions and exchange of techniques, and exchange of experts in the fields of medicine and public health.

Exchanges in the areas of press, broadcasting, television and cinema will be also undertaken, according to the communique and programs in the field of the social sciences, including the exchange of lectures of social sciences.

Cooperation and exchanges between the libraries of the two countries will be encouraged and an annual executive program will be held. Expenses for the cultural exchanges is to be agreed upon by the two governments.

CSO: 4700/1292



LIBERIA

POLICE OFFICIAL BLAMES GUINEAN TRADERS FOR HIGH SMUGGLING RATE

Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 28 May 82 p 24

[Article by Mlanju Reeves]

[Excerpt] The Commander of the Foya Police Station, Major Morgan Weeks, has blamed certain Guinean traders for the high rate of smuggling on the Liberia-Guinea border in Lofa County.

Major Weeks said in an interview last week that the traders with the aid of Guinean fishermen plying the Makona River bring into the country restricted agricultural produce like oranges and foodstuff.

He said some of them also carry out their smuggling activities by walking through the bush at night.

According to the Commander, Guinean border troops are also claiming a six-foot deep territory on the Liberian side of the Makona River which is considered a natural boundary by local authorities.

CSO: 4700/1292

COMMITTEE TO CONDUCT FEASIBILITY STUDIES FOR POULTRY PROJECT

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 21 May 82 p 1

[Article by Lue Hinneh]

[Text]

A nine-member committee, headed by the Ministry of Agriculture, meets this morning at the National Investment Commission (NIC) to conduct feasibility studies for the possible establishment of an approximately \$6 million poultry project in Liberia.

The committee, which will meet for three days, is expected to work out a blue print to be presented to the Agriculture Ministry at the end of its work.

Disclosing this during a meeting Thursday at the Agriculture Ministry with representatives of the Liberia Poultry Association and NIC, Assistant Agriculture Minister for Technical Affairs, Mr. J. Hilary Mayson, said the project proposal will be drawn up in a way that it will conform to the needs of the 35 Liberian poultry farmers.

According to Mayson, the

project is expected to seek financing from the World Bank through a loan slated to be arranged by government.

The committee which is made up of members from the NIC, the Liberia Poultry Association, Ministries of Planning and Economic Affairs and Agriculture, will study means by which the project could become a commercial type enterprise with some government participation.

The project will seek to make poultry farmers operations more efficient. It will identify possible means of reducing operational cost such as the elimination of importing day old chicks, local production of feeds, and the provision of drugs and technology. The project, if successfully set-up, will also serve as a marketing outlet for small poultry farmers according to reports.

## IDA GRANTS FIFTY YEAR CREDIT TO AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 21 May 82 p 1

[Text]

Some 8,000 farm families in Liberia will increase their production of food and cash crops through an agricultural development project assisted by an SDR 13.3 million (\$15.5 million) credit from the International Development Association (IDA) the World Bank's Affiliate for concessionary lending.

The \$28 million project, the second IDA supported project for agricultural development in Lofa County region will further the Government's aim to increase smallholder participation in agriculture. Co-financing of \$9.6 million is to be provided by the African Development Fund.

Under the project up to \$5 million will be lent to individual farmers through a co-operative system to help provide farm supplies such as included in the project to help smallholder farmers expand their production.

The training and visit system will be used and female extension workers will be employed to teach women farmers. Improvements will also be made in the Agricultural Produce Marketing Corporation and in the operations of Agricultural Co-operatives.

Living conditions in the region will be upgraded through the construction of feeder roads, farm access tracks, farmer subcentres village wells and latrines. The swamp rice areas involved in the project will be monitored for schistosomiasis, a tropical disease prevalent in the country.

The project will also provide technical assistance to establish a central monitoring and evaluation unit in the Ministry of Agriculture to train and supervise evaluation units for regional agricultural development projects like the one in Lofa County.

The IDA credit is for 50 years including 10 years of grace: it carries no interest but bears a small annual service charge of 0.5 per cent on the undisbursed balances of the credit and 0.75 per cent on the disbursed balances.

## LIBERIA

### BRIEFS

'AMERICANS' IN GOVERNMENT--The Logistics Commander of the Armed Forces of Liberia, Col G. Nuahn, has expressed concern over the presence of some "Americans" holding top positions in the Liberian Government. Col Nuahn said in an interview yesterday that these are people of Liberian origin who went to the United States and married American women automatically becoming Americans. "In the future when things get tough, they are most likely to abandon their duties and other activities and run away to America leaving the nation alone to solve its problems," the logistics commander said. In response to a question, he said he did not necessarily think that things would get tough in the future, "but such a possibility can not be ruled out." He said the PRC government should make sure that those it appoints to positions of trust are "Liberian citizens only." [Excerpt] [Monrovia DAILY OBSERVER in English 21 May 82 p 1]

MECHANIZATION OF FOOD PRODUCTION--Meanwhile, in an effort to mechanize the nation's food production, the Small and Medium Business Association is to set up an industry shortly for the manufacturing of machines to grind cassava coconuts and palm-nuts. Locally made materials and scraps from abandoned vehicles would be used while the technical manpower required will be supplied by graduates from local Technical Institutions. According to Dr Kaba the factory which would be operational this June will also be engaged in the manufacturing of rice drying and scratching machines along with sugar cane mills and stills. [Text] [Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 20 May 82 p 6]

CSO: 4700/1292

MALI

BRIEFS

MINERALS IN MALI--The director general of Mali's Geology and Mining Department, Sekou Diallo, has reported that geological prospecting carried out in the past few years has revealed substantial deposits of valuable minerals and rare metals. He described as very promising the gold resources discovered with the aid of Soviet specialists in the region of Kalana where a gold mine is under construction with Soviet aid. Kimberlite deposits have also been discovered and, according to estimates, they contain considerable diamond resources. In Markala and Bourem the extraction of phosphates has begun. The mining of this mineral is to reach 10,000 tonnes a year. Mali's mineral wealth, Sekou Diallo said, also includes zinc, lithium, barium, copper and other valuable metals. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 24 May 82 p 1405]

CSO: 4700/1313

SEMINAR ON CREOLE IN INDIAN OCEAN, CARIBBEAN

Creolists' Seminar

Victoria NATION in French 26 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] Creolists from the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean will take part in a 5-day seminar on creole beginning this afternoon at the House of the People. The seminar has four main themes.

The themes are: "A linguistic and ethnographic approach to the unity and diversity of creole," "The Seychelles' experience in using creole as a means of development and as a factor in socio-cultural advancement," "Spelling creole," and "What creole ought to be used as a scientific language?"

Mauritius will be represented at the seminar by Mr Vinesh Hookoomsing, a teacher and linguist working at the Mauritian National Pedagogical Institute, and Mrs Lindsey Collen, an official of the literacy organization "Ledikasyon pu travayer" [Education for Work].

Creole is far from being an official language of Mauritius, but it is the most commonly used idiom, often even at the government level (Prime Minister Ramgoolam often addresses the people in creole); but it is not used in the official press or on radio and television with the sole exception of songs.

The new status being given creole language is the work only of individuals, artists, writers and leftist organizations. A plan to introduce creole in the schools was flatly rejected by the government.

Four linguists from the Caribbean will represent Haiti, Martinique, Dominica and St. Lucia, four islands located near the North American continent between the Atlantic Ocean and the Caribbean Sea.

Mr Pierre Vernet, of Haiti, is an official of the Applied Linguistics Center in Port-au-Prince. This center coordinates with the National Educational Institute in doing research on the introduction of creole into the schools and is striving to restore to creole the priority status it deserves in Haiti, where the entire population speaks the language.

Mr Jean Bernabe, of Martinique, is a professor of French and creole at the University of Fort de France and a member of the International Study Committee on Creole. He is also the director of a creole research group.

Mrs Edgitha Tobias, a teacher on St. Lucia, is a member of a research committee on creole in the Caribbean islands.

Mr Felix Henderson heads a committee for promoting creole on Dominica; the committee bases all its work on having creole recognized at the government level.

On these four islands of the Caribbean, individual efforts are being made at the government level, as in Haiti, or among speicalized organizations to rehabilitate creole, which has for so long been consigned to the status of a "dialect."

In Haiti, great work has been done in this direction. It was decided by presidential decree in December 1979 to introduce creole into 400 Haitian schools. This month a second presidential decree ordered creole introduced into all Haitian schools as a result of the experiment in the 400 pilot schools.

According to Mr Pierre Vernet, this decision is well justified because French has been learned by only about 10 percent of the population. Thus, creole is moving into the foreground in Haiti and has for a long time been widely broadcast on radio and television and used in literature, song and the theater.

Mr Jean Bernabe explains that creole is in a basically different situation on Martinique. Since Martinique is still under the yoke of colonialism, the political leaders have no desire to promote creole on the island.

Those who have the political will to do so, militant intellectuals, researchers and linguists, do not have the political power.

The University of Fort de France has published a cultural charter for creole that the public can see at the Carnegie Hall exposition. This charter explains in detail why the development of creole is blocked on Martinique.

St. Lucia and Dominica have situations that are at least similar if not identical. The official language of these two independent islands is English. The people of the islands speak creole.

On St. Lucia, enormous obstacles prevent people from speaking creole other than at home. The members of the government themselves do little or nothing to promote the language of the people. Almost all the work being done to rehabilitate creole comes from the research committee of which Mrs Tobias is a member.

On Dominica, where creole is more commonly spoken in daily life, the government seems correspondingly more willing to improve the status of creole. Thus, Mr Felix Henderson says, there is reason to hope that creole may become the second official language, and the minister of Education has expressed willingness to have creole used in school.

On St. Lucia, Dominica, Martinique, Mauritius and Reunion, the greatest part of the work is still up to the political militants and researchers who are together concerned with ways of restoring creole to its true place.

The four representatives from the Caribbean expressed satisfaction at participating in the creole week seminar in the Seychelles, because, they observe, it is a source of considerable information as well as of great encouragement for those who are working to promote this language spoken by 10 million people in the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean.

#### Indian Ocean-Caribbean Association

Victoria NATION in French 29 Apr 82 p 2

[Text] The Seychelles experience in introducing creole into the schools was the topic of a paper by Mrs Marie-Therese Choppy given at the House of the People yesterday afternoon. Mrs Choppy is an official in charge of creole matters in the ministry of Education and Information for the purposes of the creole seminar.

Mrs Choppy gave a detailed outline of the situation of the 1,566 primary students who have been receiving instruction entirely in creole since January; she then proceeded to make a preliminary evaluation of the work done so far.

The general result is that the experiment is distinctly more favorable to student learning because it takes place in their native language and is therefore more favorable to their general development.

Mrs Choppy's report elicited many questions from creolists from the Caribbean, Mauritius and Reunion and an obvious interest in an experiment that they would like to see repeated in their respective countries.

Also resolved at the first working session on Monday morning was the formation of a committee charged with considering the creation of a structured organization under the name "Bann Zil Kreol"; the plans had already been made at the St. Lucia seminar, and the committee formulated a few proposals.

It was agreed that this creolist organization would be formed by the end of the current seminar. The committee decided immediately to form two commissions, one in charge of organization and the other in charge of various projects to be undertaken.

The objective assigned to the two commissions is to work for the development of creole on creole-speaking islands, especially by holding a creole week every year on one island or another to advance research in this area. Another objective is to consider projects that might be launched in the coming year and, especially, aid that might be requested from organizations such as the ACCT [Cultural and Technical Cooperation Agency] and UNESCO to finance, among other things, an inter-island newsletter with the same title as the organization: BANN ZIL KREOL, to draw comic strips in creole, to undertake a study of the various current creole orthographies and the ways in which a common spelling system might be developed for all creole-speaking island populations.

As Mrs Danielle d'Offay pointed out, it is of greatest importance that this organization not only be established and start working by the end of the week but that it do follow-up work to creole week; the organization should not be satisfied merely to be formed but should also effectively perform its work.



## MDK Promotes People's Culture

Saint Denis TEMOIGNAGES in French 7 Apr 82 p 2

[Article: The MDK Comes Out For a Pluralistic People's Cultural Policy]

[Text] Towards the creation of a common front for the promotion of Reunion culture?

The MDK [Movement for Our Right to Speak], after several months of semi-lethargy, recently took an initiative that is likely to leave its mark on the direction of cultural life on Reunion.

It decided to submit to the approval of local artists a text in which it comes out for the advancement of a pluralistic people's cultural policy.

The MDK's proposal comes just as some people have shown a desire to monopolize cultural life and activity.

The Movement, led by Agnes Gueneau, thus sends a warning to all those who want to give privilege to an "elitist" culture to the detriment of "the needs of the people as a whole."

But the document adopted by the MDK office is not simply a warning. It calls on all Reunion artists to approve the cultural policy it has defined and lays the groundwork for a common front of all groups sharing a similar conception of culture. If this front is established, it may play a decisive part in forthcoming cultural meetings. In this sense the MDK proposal is important. Here is the text of the motion:

"The MDK reaffirms its stand in favor of Reunion culture and demands a policy of cultural development beyond the importation or artificial staging of theatrical events.

"The MDK holds that Reunion can be a center of French culture in the Indian Ocean without prejudice to other deep and essential truths concerning our island that are due to our history, geography and the originality of our people.

"Consequently, the MDK demands that authorities concerned by cultural problems in France and on Reunion:

"(1) consider our deep Reunion culture, the 'soul of the country,' a culture that has been veiled, erased, hidden and broken by various forms of repression and by years of insubstantial leadership. All the while, an 'approximate' model of European culture has been published, and it has paralyzed any real cultural awareness.

"(2) inform themselves on the needs of the population in general and, mainly, define priority sectors such as the development of cultural life in neighborhoods, isolated areas and schools.

"(3) permit the awakening of talent in all areas by a true policy of decentralization, promotion and wider publication of cultural achievements.

"(4) include on the regional cultural board all groups without exception that are active in Reunion cultural life and give them a vote. We have especially in mind those who have been working without subsidy and at their own risk in recent years. At a time when the 'Giordan report' in France speaks of 'historic reparation' to cultural minorities, the MDK considers that here, too, society cannot be cut off from its underlying culture."

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CSO: 4719/919

## BRIEFS

**STUDENT PROTESTS**--The students on strike since April 26 at the Issa Korombe and Kassai schools of Niamey University have prolonged their protest. Students at regional schools have said their strike has "no limit". Zinder, Tahoua, Maradi and Diffa are affected. They are protesting at conditions of study, an insufficient number of places in the refectories and in lodgings, a lack of teachers and, in certain cases, at non-payment of grants, according to a spokesperson for the /Union des Scholaires Nigériens./ [in italics] This organisation is not recognised by the government. The students object to the conclusions of a recent conference on education held in March at Zinder. The conference proposed, in order to reduce costs, a reduction in the number of residential students and a parental or village contribution to grants. When the strikes began police arrested and questioned several students considered to be ringleaders. AFP reports that they were subsequently released. President Seyni Kounche told journalists recently that although he did not wish to introduce draconian measures to cope with the unrest, they would be necessary if unrest turned into "provocation". Tracts have been circulating in Niamey violently criticising the military regime, signed by the /Comité Directeur de l'Union des Scholaires Nigériens/ and /l'Union des Edudiants Nigériens de l'Université de Niamey./ [in italics] [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3381, 24 May 82 p 1420]

**DEATH OF POLITICAL PRISONERS**--Three political prisoners, including a former trade union leader, have died in prison in Niamey after being ill-treated, according to exile sources, reports AFP. The trade unionist, M. Siddo Hassane, the Secretary-General of the National Union of Niger Workers from 1969 to 1974, died recently at a prison camp at Tillabéri shortly after his arrest. The two others, who were not named, were a nurse and a former policeman. They and several dozen others were arrested in the wake of an alleged sabotage plot last month in the northern mining city of Arlit. An official source in Niamey said 14 people had entered Niger last month with the aim of sabotaging the operations of the Akouta uranium company, Cominak. They were arrested in Arlit on April 9 and 10 and reportedly confessed having contacts with the son of former President Hamani Diori, who was ousted in 1974. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3381, 24 May 82 p 1420]

CSO: 4700/1316

AUSTERITY MEASURES TO AFFECT ALL PROJECTS

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 6 May 82 p 1

[Text]

**ALL Federal Government projects including those of Abuja and the steel plants will be affected by the current austerity measures, according to the Vice President, Dr. Alex Ekwueme.**

Speaking at the monthly presidential press briefing at Ribadu Road, yesterday, Dr. Ekwueme, said that it was impossible to make any exceptions considering the fact that revenues will fall far short of the amount expected. He said that out of the 8.7 billion Naira expected only about 5 billion Naira would be realized.

The vice president said that of this 5 billion Naira, 3.7 billion Naira has been earmarked for recurrent expenditure. He said that from the 2 billion Naira left for capital expenditure, it was obvious that all capital projects will suffer from the austerity measures.

Dr. Ekwueme said, however, that although the pace of the Abuja project will be affected, the commitment to it was irrevocable since it was entrenched in the constitution. He said also that the target date for the initial movement remains unchanged.

Speaking on the issue of state creation, he said that the present economic situation should not adversely affect it. He said new states are not necessarily expensive to create pointing out that they do not need to have as many commissioners as they now have.

He added, that when the 19 states were created in 1976, the military made it mandatory for all states to have a maximum of nine commissioners. Now, he

said, some of them have as many as 20.

Still on creation of states, he said that 30 million Naira has been earmarked for new states to establish their own capitals.

Answering a question on what the government would do with contraband goods that are bound to be seized with the imposition of a ban on certain imports, he said they would either be distributed to philanthropic organisations, re-exported even at cheap prices or simply destroyed, depending on the nature of the goods.

CSO: 4700/1294

FOREIGNERS ARRESTED AS 'ECONOMIC SABOTEURS'

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 6 May 82 pp 1, 13

[Text] Five foreign nationals described as economic saboteurs of Nigeria have been arrested by police detectives of Lagos State Police Command for being in possession of one million Naira.

The foreign nationals were named by the police as Roger Smith (British), Miss Sandra Seeby (Australian), and Miss Somia Thongang, a Thai national.

Others are: Mis Ampong Voungani, a Thai national and Mr Steve Obieke, a Nigerian of 8 Coast Ufeli Street, Ikate.

Briefing newsmen in Lagos yesterday over the arrest, the Lagos State Police Commissioner, Alhaji Mamman Nassarwa said that through information from the office of the Inspector-General of Police, the premises of Roger Smith, a British national of 83B Marine Road, Apapa, was searched by detectives from Panti CID on Tuesday.

During the search he further disclosed various items of import licences, bills of laden and Central Bank Form M were also recovered by the detectives.

The police boss added that in view of the present economic situation in the country the members of the state police command had already initiated full scale investigation to determine the genuineness or otherwise of the staggering amount of the money and the document.

Newsmen were shown the money wrapped in two separate bags and in different denominations.

And in another development the police of the state command announced that they have arrested four armed robbers and shot dead the leader of the notorious gang which according to the commissioner had carried out series of armed robbery operations in the state.

The robbery suspects were James Stephen Benjamin, the gang leader who was shot dead by the police.

Others are Robinson Emorso alias Robinson The Killer, Sunday Ibe alias Sunday Dange, Francis Ovia alias Recker and Boniface Okorie.

The men were said to have planned a weekend robbery operation to rob banks in broad daylight robbery operation and shoot any police or security guards who got in their way.

CSO: 4700/1294

NEW GOVERNOR OF CENTRAL BANK APPOINTED

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 7 May 82 pp 1, 13

[Article by Suleiman Dangana]

[Text]

A NEW Governor has been appointed for the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN).

He is Alhaji Abdulkadir Ahmed, who until his new appointment, was the Deputy Governor of the CBN.

He succeeds the incumbent Mr. Ola Vincent who, has since proceeded on leave preparatory to his retirement.

Authoritative sources at the CBN, yesterday, in Lagos told the New Nigerian that Alhaji A.O.G. Otiti has also been appointed as the new Deputy Governor of the CBN.

Alhaji Otiti, until his new appointment was the Executive Director of Operations of the CBN.

Alhaji Abdulkadir Ahmed was appointed Deputy Governor of the CBN in 1977.

A chartered accountant, Alhaji Abdulkadir was born in October 31, 1940 at

Jama're in Bauchi State where he had his primary education between 1952-1954 before proceeding to Barewa College Zaria, where he graduated in 1959.

In 1960, he joined the services of the New Nigeria Development Company limited and was trained by the company internally and at the University of Ife (Ibadan branch) and in England where he obtained a diploma in Commercial Accounting and read professional accountancy becoming an associate member of the Association of Certified Accountants (ACCA).

Alhaji Abdulkadir is also an associate member of the Institute of Chartered Accountants (ACCA).

Prior to his appointment in 1977, Alhaji Abdulkadir was Commissioner for Finance and Economic Development in Bauchi State.

CSO: 4700/1294

# KADUNA REFINERY TO START PRODUCTION SOON

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 4 May 82 p 9

[Article by Sulaiman Gambari]

[Text]

**THE second phase of the Kaduna Oil Refinery built at a cost of 200 million Naira is expected to be commissioned at about June this year.**

The General Manager of the Kaduna Oil Refinery, Alhaji Sani Bello, revealed this at a press conference organised to educate and enlighten members of the public on the operations of the Nigerian National Petroleum Company (NNPC), yesterday.

He announced that the fuel sector of the Kaduna Refinery was producing and selling about 1,750 tons of liquified petroleum gas per month; Premium Motor Spirit Gasolene, 80,000 cubic tons per month; Diesel 60,000 cubic metres per month; Low Pour Fuel, 30,000 cubic metres per month and Dual Purpose Kerosine, 27,000 cubic metres per day.

Alhaji Sani further explained that the refinery which was now producing 50,000 barrels of oil per day had been connected with six

oil depots in the northern states to facilitate adequate supply of oil in those areas.

Contributing, the Refinery Production Manager, Dr. Thomas M. John, said that when the second project was in full operation, it would be processing about 100,000 barrels of crude oil per day.

He further stressed that the project would be producing per year 250,000 metric tons of Lubricant Oil; Asphalt, 689,700 metric tons; Wax 24,750 metric tons; Sulphur, 2,310 metric tons; Liquified Petroleum Gas (LPG), 10,000 metric tons; Gasoline (petrol) 1,211,100 metric tons; Kerosine, 613,800 metric tons; Gas Oil, 887,700 metric tons and Fuel Oil, 415,800 metric tons.

CSO: 4700/1294



BAUCHI STATE TAKES STEPS TO REDUCE COST OF RICE

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 4 May 82 p 9

[Article by Yaro Ali Maiduguri]

[Text]

THE Bauchi State Government has taken a number of measures to minimise the cost of rice throughout the state. The cost of the commodity had gone up by about 70 per cent recently.

This was disclosed in the state capital yesterday by the acting Commissioner for Co-operatives and Rural Development, Alhaji Muda Lawal, while speaking to the New Nigerian in his office.

The measures, he announced became necessary following a survey he conducted in Bauchi main market with a view to assess the cost of rice.

Alhaji Muda said, that few days after the announcement of some measures to sustain our economy, the cost of rice per bag had gone up to between 55 Naira to 60 Naira from its normal rate of 35 Naira.

The escalating price imposed by some businessmen forced the government to take some

measures so that the common man would not suffer unnecessarily, he disclosed.

Alhaji Muda Lawal who is also the commissioner in-charge of parastatals said that the new measures introduced by the state

government include the decentralisation of selling of rice in the state capital to five centres whereby a measure of rice would be sold at one Naira and no buyer would be allowed to buy more than three measures at a time.

Under this method, he went on, about 750 bags of rice would be sold in each centre every month. The centres are Gombe, Azare and Misau.

On the other local government areas, the commissioner said that allocation system for each LGA had also been reviewed whereby no, LGA would be allowed to purchase rice worth 19,000 Naira at a time.

## BRIEFS

STEEL PRICE--Minister for Steel, Malam Mamman Ali Makele has described as unrealistic that our locally produced steel products will be more expensive than the imported ones. Clearing the air during his inspection tour of the Jos Steel Rolling Mill last Monday, the minister said that contrary to public impressions, "we have not fixed our prices, but when we do, all necessary factors will be taken into consideration. Malam Ali Makele, who said that our steel must be produced at sufficiently competitive prices, it will be unrealistic as beginners in steel production to surpass nations which have been producing steel decades ago, in terms of prices. The minister said that these nations have in fact been dumping their steel products on us and have infrastructures which must develop along with our steel, "and we will march boldly toward breaking even within a short period." On the present state of the nation's economy, Malam Ali Makele warned that any unreasonable and irresponsible demands at this teething period will not be entertained because the resources of government are not limitless. [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 4 May 82 p 9]

UNIONISTS WARNED ON POLITICS--Governor Abubakar Tatari Ali of Bauchi State has urged trade unionists to keep vigil and resist the introduction of partisan politics into their activities in order to safeguard the solidarity and credibility of their unions. Speaking at this year's May Day rally at the Abubakar Tafawa Balewa Memorial Stadium in Bauchi, Governor Tatari Ali asserted that it was fast becoming a characteristic for trade unionism in the country. Governor Tatari Ali described partisanship in trade unionism as an evil of divisiveness that is capable of undermining harmony in the work place and rendering the intention of some trade union leaders doubtful. Governor Tatari Ali said strikes should only be used when all other avenues available in collective bargaining for settlement of labour dispute have been exhausted. [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 4 May 82 p 9]

DISPLACED PERSONS--President Shehu Shagari was yesterday in Lagos expected to hold a special meeting with three governors on the resettlement of those displaced by the new Federal Capital Development Authority, Abuja. The governors were: Alhaji Awwal Ibrahim, Alhaji Adamu Attah and Mr Solomon D. Lar of Niger, Kwara and Plateau states respectively. An official announcement in Minna said that among the prominent issues to be discussed during the meeting include the payment of compensations and the provision of infrastructure to the displaced people. Alhaji Awwal Ibrahim who was accompanied

to Lagos by the Secretary to the Niger Government, Malam Ibrahim Aliyu is expected in Minna on Wednesday. [Ibrahim A. Biu] [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 5 May 82 p]

**STRIKE IN OYO**--Members of the Oyo branch of the National Union of Public Corporations Employees on Tuesday embarked on a strike following the expiration of a seven-day ultimatum given to the state government to improve their condition of service. The strike which began early in the morning, left most parts of Ibadan without water supply. A source at the state Water Corporation told the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) that although the generating set which broke down last week at the Eleyele Water Works had been repaired, the workers refused to pump water into pipes. The source said that water supply could have been restored to some areas that had earlier suffered water shortage by this morning but for the strike. Also the state's broadcasting station, the Radio O-Y-O went off the air around 9 o'clock Tuesday morning because of the strike. Workers of the state Investment and Credit Corporation and Property Development Corporation are also taking part in the strike. The unions are demanding among other things the allocation of 20 percent of the money earmarked for car loans. They also want the chief executives of parastatals to be allowed to include car loan votes in their annual budgets. At the time of this report, officials of the union were holding a closed-door meeting with the state Governor, Chief Bola Ige and heads of the corporations. [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 6 May 82 p 2]

**MONEY SPENT ON ABUJA**--More than 680 million Naira has so far been spent on the new Federal Capital Territory by the Federal Government. The Minister of State for the Capital Territory, Mr Mike Okoye, however, told newsmen in Makurdi Airport that it was wrong to blame the present economic recession on the Federal Capital Development project. This according to the minister was because the nation's economy and the Federal Capital Project were not synonymous. Mr Okoye said that the Abuja Airport runway had been completed while work had started on the terminal building. Meanwhile the deadline for the resettlement of the people affected by the sitting of the Federal Capital at Abuja has been extended by 12 months, a statement from the Executive Office of the President said in Lagos on Tuesday. The statement said that the extension of the deadline which is with effect from the end of March was one of the decisions taken in Lagos at a meeting between President Shehu Shagari and the governors of Kwara, Niger and Plateau states. According to the statement, the meeting was to review the timetable of the resettlement exercise in the light of the present financial constraints in the country. [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 6 May 82 p 1]

**RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL**--The Anglican Pilgrimage Committee for the Province of Nigeria on Thursday at Ilorin called for the normalisation of relations between Nigeria and Israel "in the interest of Nigerian Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem." In a statement issued by the Secretary of the committee, Chief Michael Asaju, it said that it was the view of the committee that the normalisation was necessary for spiritual rather than political considerations. The statement said that some countries in East Africa had restored normal relations with Israel because of their Christian citizens who go on

pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Meanwhile, the Anglican Diocese of Kwara, at the end of its third synod last week-end, resolved to move its administrative headquarters from Offa to Ilorain. (NAN) [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 8 May 82 p 7]

CRUDE OIL PRODUCTION DROPS--Crude oil production for February dropped by 20.05 percent to a total of 38,951,286 barrels while exports stood at 26,512,697 barrels, according to a report by the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). The report released in Lagos yesterday said that these figures represent an average production rate of 1.39 million barrels of crude oil per day with exports at 950,000 barrels per day. It noted that on comparative basis, a decline of about 20.5 percent in production and about 4.9 percent in export over the figure recorded during the proceeding month was observed. The NNPC explained that the sharp decline in production on export in February was caused by the continued lull in the world's oil market and the disruption of Shell's production in the western zone which was due to the rupture of a major crude oil delivery pipeline which took more than two weeks to repair. [Excerpt] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 8 May 82 pp 1, 8]

CALABAR 'RIOTERS' ARRESTED--Police detectives from the Cross River Police Command with the help of their counterparts in Kaduna have arrested 18 persons who allegedly fled to Kaduna after a riot in Calabar during which a police inspector was murdered. A police source told the Sunday New Nigerian in Kaduna that the suspects, eight men and ten women, were rounded up somewhere in the outskirts of Kaduna where they were hiding with some people believed to be their relatives. The source disclosed that the suspects were arrested following a tip-off after the detectives from Calabar arrived in Kaduna. According to the source, those arrested were strongly suspected to be involved in a recent affray which occurred in a village near Calabar, Cross River State, sometime this year. When our correspondent visited the police station where the suspects were detained, only the women among them were behind the counter, while the men were in police cell pending their transfer to Calabar to face charges made against them. The Police Public Relations Officer in Kaduna, Mr Phillip Abang, who confirmed the arrest of the suspects, said the accused persons would be taken to Calabar anytime next week. [Text] [Kaduna SUNDAY NEW NIGERIAN in English 9 May 82 p 16]

CSO: 4700/1293

'BUY SENEGALESE' DRIVE SAID TO NEED IMPROVED ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 4 May 82 p 4

[Article by Amadou Fall: "The Impact of the Outside World"]

[Excerpts] The chronic imbalance in Senegalese foreign trade is due in large part to the continuing decline in the value of export products. Oil seeds, the sensitive pillars of our economy, after the satisfactory level recorded in 1979 with its decisive contribution of 42 billion [as published; presumably CFA francs], clearly fell off last year, contributing only 18 billion to the country's resources. This resulted in a loss of at least 51 percent. This fall in value was much more pronounced with regard to oilcake, export of which declined as much in value (66 percent) as in tonnage (61 percent).

Only phosphates and fish products provided substantial support. Fishing, above all, is on the way to becoming a leading sector of the economy on which we can count in order to face up to the future with a little more serenity.

However, the pace of agricultural production (peanuts in particular) impresses its own dynamic on the development of exports. It is clear, therefore, that any decline in production of industrial crops will have broad repercussions on the volume and value of exports.

However, these exports have usually increased since 1973, although, despite everything, they have remained below imports, which, during the same period, have experienced an average annual growth of about 15 percent.

Therefore, the Senegalese petroleum bill continues to be particularly heavy. It has gone up 15 times since the 1973 crisis. In 1981 it totaled 71 billion, equal to more than 26 percent of all exports in value.

Elsewhere, and despite the recession, the import of equipment goods has major significance, equal to food products, purchases of which from abroad were estimated at CFA 33 billion in 1980. A report on the country's food situation has shown that Senegal imports each year 100 percent of its requirements for wheat, 76 percent for sugar, 67 percent for rice, 33 percent for corn and 4 percent for millet and sorghum.

## Stifled Economy

This situation is all the more a matter of concern since Senegal has devoted itself to export crops that, although providing it with substantial income, keep it in this vicious cycle where this very income is almost entirely absorbed by expenditures for food products, as well as equipment and consumption goods (absolutely indispensable in many cases).

This range of imports without any significant return amounts to a burden on the external receipts of Senegal. Thus, more than ever, the country continues to play its long-term role as a producer of raw materials (and exporter of only slightly processed goods), depending for almost everything it needs on particularly costly foreign sources of supply.

Statistical studies carried out between 1975 and 1980 to measure the evolution of the Senegalese trade balance have shown in almost every case that the terms of trade (the index of imports in terms of exports) have been paradoxically favorable, whereas in the same period the trade deficit was larger each year. In fact this result does not necessarily signify good economic health, and still less does it signify a satisfactory level of development. On the other hand, a calculation of the foreign purchasing power of basic export products (oil seeds, phosphates and fish products) of Senegal compared with products of prime necessity (crude oil, wheat, rice, tomatoes, sugar and equipment) provides a view that is clearly more in accord with reality. In effect, it shows that the tendency is much more in the direction of deterioration than of improvement.

Finally, our foreign trading partners sell us their products in much larger quantities but at much higher prices. Therefore, the inflationary consequences of this situation slowly stifle the Senegalese economy.

Only slightly diversified trading relations, directed almost exclusively toward the industrialized countries and toward France in particular, constitute the principal cause of this situation.

It will be noted that trade between Senegal and France in 1979-1980 was marked by a decline in our exports in the order of nine percent and, inversely, by an increase of six percent in our imports. The trade deficit also expanded in trade with the other developed countries, in general members of the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development].

With the devaluation of the French franc (and consequently of the CFA franc in terms of other currencies outside the franc zone) it was thought that our imports would tend to decline as a result of their increased cost, while exports would increase. There is a danger that this will not be the case, since imports from OPEC countries (25 percent of total imports in 1979 and 40 percent in 1980), from the rice-producing countries (Thailand, Pakistan and China), or from the sugar-producing countries (Brazil) are increasing in value, whereas Senegalese exports to these countries remain very small (1 percent in 1979 and 2 percent in 1980 for the OPEC countries).

Moreover, payment for these imports is in dollars. This threatens to cancel the beneficial effect that might be expected from the increase in export income and to further aggravate the situation. Finally, it is clear that the dynamics of recovery must necessarily be stimulated from within Senegal.

#### Recovery

Therefore, it seems more and more urgent that concrete action be taken to ensure that the Senegalese people will be able to "consume Senegalese products." To do this, a dynamic agricultural and industrial policy has been adopted. Over the middle term, it should be capable of making up the Senegalese deficit in food and provide for better coverage of the country's food needs, in the same way it contributes to limiting imports of manufactured products.

It would also be appropriate, consequently, to exploit our domestic energy potential (solar and wind energy and peat) to lessen the burden of the petroleum import bill.

Senegal is directing itself progressively, though laboriously, toward a reduction in its traditional markets, with an apparent desire to substitute for vertical relationships with the industrialized world horizontal relationships that give emphasis to Africa and the Third World in some way.

This policy, begun some years ago, is already on the way to providing results. The trade balance of Senegal with ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] countries showed a surplus for the first time in 1979. In 1980 the surplus amounted to CFA Fr 5 billion. However, this surplus results from trade with the member countries of CEAO [West African Economic Community] and in particular with the Ivory Coast, which remains Senegal's principal African trading partner.

Trade with other African countries that are not members of CEAO, however, is still small and reflects an overall deficit in view of the substantial level of petroleum purchases from Nigeria.

5170

CSO: 4719/931

BILL ON ELECTORAL CODE BRINGS OUT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DIFFERENCES

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 3 May 82 p 7

[Article by Momar Seyni Ndiaye: "New Electoral Code Adopted"]

[Excerpts] From 9:00 am to 6:00 pm, with a break of 2 hours at 2:00 pm, all that time needed for the National Assembly to adopt a government bill to revise the electoral code. The length of this plenary session, which marked the first confrontation between supporters of the government and of the parliamentary opposition since the opening of the first regular session of the year, could have been anticipated.

On Friday [30 April] in the parliament building on Place Tascher, the crux of the matter in no way lay in the numerous agreements committing the government, even when read with all of the calm requested by President Cisse Dia. The crux of the matter lay elsewhere. It was in the draft electoral code whose adoption would determine the future of Senegalese democracy by establishing the legal framework within which the balance of forces between the groups composing our political landscape would be expressed. It was therefore foreseeable that the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party], the only parliamentary opposition group, would deploy all its strength to prevent adoption of the electoral code. But they could not accomplish the impossible. The balance of forces in parliament was such that the seven deputies from the PDS (with Dr Wade absent) could not overcome the determination with which the 60 deputies from the PS [Socialist Party] defended the draft bill presented by the government. Defending its position with all of its strength, the PDS sought to use the arguments it considered the most convincing, going so far as to publish a statement dated 19 April in which it clearly declared that the new electoral code "is fundamentally antidemocratic. It only seeks to assure the perpetuation of the PS in power and closes the door to any democratic alteration in power in Senegal."

After having set forth these views at length, the PDS concluded its statement as follows: "If the PS persists in trying to impose on the Senegalese people its tailor-made electoral code, it is clear that it knows in advance that the elections of 1983 would be fatal to it. Consequently, it is arranging things so that it will not be voted out of power. It is essential for the PS to know that from now on it will find all the democrats of this country barring its way, with the PDS in the forefront." For the PS deputies, this was not the case at all. Rather, the statement contained threats that were scarcely



masked at all. This was especially the case since in the arguments of the parliamentary opposition reference was often made to a "panic-stricken" Socialist Party that sought by whatever means necessary "to hang on to power." And it is not difficult to imagine the replies of the PS, in the words of Christian Vallentin and Andre Guillabert, or in the frankly serious tone of parliamentary reporter Abdoulaye Niang, Deputy Birahim Gallo Fall and the president of the PS parliamentary faction, Mamour Ousmane Ba, That's the parliamentary game. You dramatize things to make a better impression, you use your brains either to escape from the anguish of fear or, on the contrary, to affect a certain kind of serenity. The Socialist Party had every reason to adopt an attitude of serenity. However, and above all, it had its comfortable majority to turn back all the amendments proposed by the PDS and to have its own amendments adopted. That is also a law of the parliamentary system.

This description of the parliamentary proceedings would be incomplete in many respects if we were to ignore the contribution of the independent deputy, Mamadou Fall Puritin, supporting or opposing this or that amendment, this or that law, in terms of his mood of the moment or quite simply in the firm desire to avoid a "partisan spirit," as he made clear at the beginning. Puritin certainly has talent as an orator, especially when he takes advantage of not having received any guidance from anyone. He then speaks "in the name of the people." What could be more normal for a representative of the people! A people some of whom were present in the gallery reserved for the public. It was impressive to note the very substantial proportion of women, peacefully seated there but who nonetheless followed the debate with a discreet ear. And for good reason.

This marathon session--more than 200 articles were under consideration in the draft--began with an organic draft law abrogating and replacing Article 21 of the Organic Law of 21 August 1976 enacting the Electoral Code. Deputy Christian Valentin had introduced a provision relative to Article 35, devoted to the use of the media in an election campaign. In his mind it was necessary to determine on this occasion, and in a more explicit way, the use of radio time during the 21 days of the campaign. The proposal of the PS provided for the division of the time in two parts, with the first part assigned to the government and the other to the opposition as a whole. The division of time aroused strong attacks from the PDS deputies, who saw in it "new proof of an antidemocratic attitude." However, the draft provision was adopted despite this opposition.

Minister of Information and Telecommunications Djibo Ka, Minister of Culture Joseph Mathiam and Sogui Konate, secretary of state charged with relations with the elected assemblies, were able to answer the questions of the deputies without great difficulty. Despite the disappearance of certain deputies after the break at 2:00 pm, the draft bill was approved by 41 votes in favor, none opposed and 6 abstentions (all from the PDS).

It should be emphasized that the government had decided, after the bill had been in committee, to withdraw its proposal, which provided that only political groups that had obtained at least five percent of the vote would have the right to representation in the National Assembly. That was an important concession that gives more of an opportunity to small political groups.

5170

CSO: 4719/931

PROBLEMS FACING DIOUF'S ANTICORRUPTION CAMPAIGN NOTED

Dakar AFRICA in French No 140, Apr 82 pp 14, 19-20

[Article by Agathon: "Fight Against Corruption: Abdou Diouf, Hope of Black Africa"]

[Excerpts] Everything is in a bad way! Ten and 20 percent for brokering! All the money for a furniture order pocketed! Nonbusinessmen quota holders! Mansions in Belgium, in France! Villas on the Riviera, apartments in Paris! Embezzlement! Bankruptcies of state companies falling like houses of cards! Scandal over amounts charged against the budget! Billions dancing around! Numbered bank accounts in Switzerland! Trips for phoney reasons of health! Diamonds in repatriated corpses! Conversations teem with references to theft, underhanded scheming and graft, while tea pouring into glasses ironically makes a little sound like a small waterfall.

The glass facade of this man's house! The gardens or swimming pool of that one, his fleet of taxis, the Mercedes, the BMW's, the big American cars, the Alpines, the Lancias, the Alfa-Romeos! Passing by in the caravan are Hondas, modest Japanese cars, but they are gifts to wives or to a season's companion....

News from elsewhere: "From the driver who fleeces his passengers to the policeman who pockets the total fine--from petty officials to ministers--corruption appears to be one of the main scourges of political activity in Third World governments. Not that those governments have a monopoly: our countries, in spite of their political education, are swarming with small or large scandals, and neither are our public agencies strangers to the small "favors" from which we have all benefited to a greater or lesser extent on occasion. It's just that this phenomenon has become so extensive in developing countries that it has become a principle of government, a way of life, that is not much talked about."

It is with that quote, which applies word for word to customary practice in Africa, that the GAZETTE DE LAUSANNE (8 February 1982) introduced the analysis of a text by Dr B.K. Nehru, governor of Kashmir. Although the text cannot be disputed concerning the facts, it seems, however, to betray a certain concept of class, a nostalgia for a past that assigned everyone his place in a caste at his level, positions of responsibility being entrusted to the great families having a tradition of honor....

## An Overall Disaster

It is time for people here and people there to stop this ravaging of consciousness and for Africa to prove that it can make those sons of Africa--who are killing their mother like Bouki the glutton getting his daily food supply by cutting into the flesh of living animals--see reason. And let them leave Africa, if need be--all those men of Africa who have not stopped one minute to weigh their share of responsibility in what has become an overall disaster.

The money supporting the unrestrained life style of the new gentlemen comes mostly from two lily-white sources: external aid administered by government apparatuses without principles and acts of collusion with investment capital. The third source is the sweat of rural society within the framework of structures that are erroneously called cooperatives or other pious names that mask the reality of exploitation....

The proof that aid and investment have been barren is shown by the famines, because aid and investment have not mobilized grassroot planters and livestock raisers (mobilized and equipped against Sahel encroachment--which encroachment has definitely received too much blame for the famines and by the spectacular and latent bankruptcies putting governments perpetually in the position of asking for favors. External debt figures at their high point argue for obtaining debt moratoria, which are obtained by a government that has lost its sense of obligation, just as so many individuals have lost their sense of honor. The accommodating (or scornful?) generosity of the white master comes into play. He partially absorbs payment costs and partially defers payment deadlines, getting a hold over the new generations that, scarcely born, find themselves mortgaged. Therefore, the creditor absorbs the cost and, when he is appealed to again, lends what about a hundred citizens are in a position to contribute to a state loan if the fabulously wealthy had a sense of patriotism. But--it is plain to see--the state does not even venture to float a domestic loan, shares in which would be rather tempting to PARIBAS [Paris and Netherlands Financial Company] or Citibank with a 20-percent incentive discount for floating plus interest at maturity. PARIBAS would understand, but the new version of the nabob only understands simplistic accumulation and only has ambitions for property, at best.

## Stealing Goes On Here

So what is this social phenomenon that gives the ambitions of Africa's elite the appearance everywhere of a "return to the wild," stampede-style? Mankind being what it is, all you have to do is point with your eyes closed at a globe and you will land on a country about which it can be said with certainty: "stealing goes on here." One could go back through the course of history starting with the first organized society and say at any point that there was a man, or men, or machinery busy confiscating the product of the labor of others.

Furthermore, the practitioners of return-to-the-wild base the logic of their parasitic accumulation on traditional society. "In clan organization everything went to the chief, ruling sovereign of real estate and acquisitions." A very curious defense! "Everything went to the king? So who made you king?" The truth is that the old system /obliged/ [in italics] the chief to be an attentive and just redistributor.

Nowadays, when there is redistribution by the nouveau riche, it is only optional, more anarchic, selective, and its insufficiency is shown by how the monopolizer stretches out in luxury in town while his family, his allies, his village get only crumbs. Everything proceeds as if the extended family, in the distance, is supposed to feel happy, proud, /satisfied/ [in italics], contented, for having given a nabob to the world. The redistribution argument is a deception serving to justify a greed that puts the whole social unit in peril. Never was a proverb more apt, and more ignored, than the one recommending that the branch on which one is seated not be sawn off.

The branch, here, is the underlying nation. However, we are witnessing a complete alteration of mental attitudes which shows that the sense of the nation, its interests and its survival is no more than a bookish notion, a transplant that did not /take/ [in italics] at the time of the transition to national existence from the tribal mosaic of olden times.

The practice of these new gentlemen would suggest instead islets without a homeland, living day to day, conscious of only narrowly conceived interests. The land no longer exists for men cut off from sustenance of an oral nature--neither the land of legendary deaths and epic resistance fighters nor the sacred heritage handed down from afar and which is to be passed on; land has become an area for speculation, given over to being plucked and picked. An underlying basis for transactions, it no longer feeds anything but the pride in having pulled off a big deal here or there....

The outstretched hand of the bureaucrat, when the issue is program planning for self-sufficiency, is a scandal. Abdou Diouf said it at Linguere: "That is playing with the fate of the homeland."

#### What Is Being Done in Senegal Is Nearly Unique

At the levels below minister and director, theft and graft provide for the everyday needs of thousands of petty bureaucrats who suffer from the fleecing virus and dream of castles in Spain, receiving rudely anyone who does not have some cash ready. They no longer work except for bribes and they leave the files of the foolishly stubborn in a drawer of the legendary circular file. That is the world of anarchy that Abdou Diouf has undertaken to set in order and in which he has undertaken to show justice. Like Zorro, Superman or the knight of La Mancha?...

It is rare for a political class in power south of the Sahara to engage in self-criticism in the face of bankruptcy and undertake to reform itself, hitting its own government baron supporters if need be. What is being done in Senegal is nearly unique, at least except for the north where Chadli Bendjedid, too, has taken office within a political continuity that he has undertaken to reform by using a stiff broom.

While in Senegal people are having a good laugh accusing the government of either harshness or incompetence, it should be realized that in neighboring countries, where democracy is only a front, or which, like Mauritania, have lost all influence over their fate, the Senegalese experiment is being followed

with great concern by thousands of people who want it to succeed. Never has the beacon of lighthouse Senegal been so radiant: "I assure you," someone was telling us, "that the news from Senegal is read or listened to, commented on and spread around more than in Senegal itself. With each new scandal, people assess the extent of the corruption, people assess the power of collusive forces and people wonder if Abdou will be able to come through all right. People pray for him in soft voices. If Senegal were to fail, a pall would be spread over us. Do you get my meaning? That would be the end of all hope." We deliver this message to the Senegalese people in all its eloquent simplicity.

#### People Fear for Abdou

But Senegalese are doubters: "The targets are selective!" they say. "Why not this one or that one?" Whereupon they name those who are protecting the presumed rogues. Or else they say: "It is an electioneering maneuver that will not go far; its objective never was to go far." And here we are passing on the message in the other direction: "Your people have doubts."

But although people have doubts in the villages, in the red wooden huts or under the corrugated iron of modest "permanent" little bedroom affairs, fear has entered into the palaces, into the suburbs where sumptuous residences have driven workers who get up at cockcrow to Pikine and to the "cleared plots." And that makes a lot of money, a lot of nabobs with creased foreheads, angry; and it is for that reason that beyond our borders people fear for Abdou.

But people clearly see that he has got to win the fight he has undertaken. On it hangs the fate of not only a man or a party but of Senegal the nation and, to the extent that Senegalese democracy is seen as an example, the fate of other nations.

9631

CSO: 4719/857

SWEARING-IN OF NEW CABINET NOTED

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 14 May 82 pp 1, 8

[Editorial]

[Text] The new Cabinet already sworn-in by President Stevens reflects the old and the new in Sierra Leone's political sphere and certainly in the governmental structure.

While retaining some of the old cabinet hands in the last government the President has also brought in new faces including some who have entered Parliament only for the first time.

The chemistry of this is obviously a blend of the experience of the hands with the vibrant enthusiasm of the new comers, which mixture cannot be ineffective when effectively taken.

The coming into the cabinet of veteran politician Salia Jusu Sheriff for the first time in the APC government is definitely a landmark in contemporary Sierra Leonean Political history.

An old hand in cabinet government, leader of the former Opposition Party, successful Chartered Accountant and Businessman, Mr. Jusu Sheriff takes handle of the top Portfolio of Finance at a time when the country's financial fortunes are at a low ebb.

A lot of things including the national financial structure have to be straightened out and the new Finance Minister will have to work 25 hours a day and eight days a week in order to make headway.

He will need to make drastic, even ruthless decisions to weed out the unpalatable before new posturings can come into shape.

Of course he has the support of the President but he needs co-operation from every other sector.

It goes without saying that if the Financial situation becomes healthy all other Ministries will have a golden chance to follow suit.

Former E.E.C. Envoy Dr. Sheka Kanu at Development and Economic Planning, former Finance Minister and former Attorney-General A. B. Kamara at Trade and Industry and Dr. Abass Bundu with his long international experience at the Commonwealth now at Agriculture will all probably have to co-ordinate policies to effect a rejuvenation in the business, development and agro-productive sectors.

The world of commerce particularly needs an injection of confidence if it should not collapse completely. Business people need to be re-assured, attractive investment terms have to be dangled as a constant bait, import licences have to be more quickly available.

Our big business revenue earners including the Brewery have to be looked into, their states and conditions improved--the basic requirements being the provision of raw materials.

With the Foreign Ministry still in the competent hands of Dr. Abdulai Conteh our Foreign policy continues in a consistent line.

The long and short of everything is that Sierra Leone needs a rejuvenation and reconstruction in every aspect of endeavour.

We have some very good people at the helm of the various Ministries and in order to demonstrate initiative these Ministers need room to operate in and total cooperation from the people they work with.

However plummy their positions appear to be, their tasks should never be approached with rose-tinted spectacles

CSO: 4700/1327

FAO ASSISTANCE FOR MANO LIVESTOCK PROJECT REPORTED

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 21 May 82 p 4

[Text] A Seven-Man Preparatory team from the Food and Agriculture Organisation, (FAO) is now assisting member states of the Mano River Union in studying livestock production in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea.

According to a release from the Mano River Union the studies are part of the Union's rural development policy with particular reference to its livestock sector which includes the local production of Vaccine against animal diseases to reduce those countries' dependence on imported vaccine

The programme, according to the release, also aims at raising productivity in the indigenous livestock population.

At a meeting with Secretary-General Ernest Eastman, the leader of the team, Dr. D. H. L. Rollinson emphasised the need for the Union's member states to collaborate with one another in this venture bearing in mind that cattle found in Sierra Leone and Liberia emanate from Guinea.

The FAO representative in Sierra Leone, Mr. U. Grieb, pointed out that the team had been carefully selected both for their technical knowledge and for their familiarity with the region.

The team is expected to assess existing projects and to identify the requirements for integrated rural development as well as a co-ordinated livestock development programme.

The team will be assisted during their visit by the Chief Veterinary Officer Dr. Raymond Kamara.

CSO: 4700/1327



PRESIDENT VISITS MOBIL DRILLING RIG

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 21 May 82 pp 1, 11

[Text] A mysterious discovery has been made in the shelf's earth crust during drilling for oil in Sierra Leone.

This was disclosed by the Vice President and General Manager of Mobil Exploration, Sierra Leone Incorporated, Mr. C. J. Mayhew when he was welcoming President Siaka Stevens during a visit to the drilling Rig Neddrill on Wednesday.

Mr. Mayhew said such a discovery by the geological section had never been made and promised that the mysteries of those crust would be analysed and interpreted for future use to the benefit of Sierra Leone and its people.

He expressed the hope that good results in the exploration would serve as a source of pride to all who had helped to make the venture a success.

Addressing the experts, President Stevens described the off-shore oil exploration of the drilling Rig Neddrill I as a shining example of the symbiotic aspects of the world's growing interdependence whereby Mobil and Neddrill were providing the means and expertise for the exploration of oil, one of Sierra Leone's natural resources which, he said, we could not have exploited on our own.

This, he maintained, proved the point that the rich need the poor just as much as the poor need the rich.

President Stevens reminded them that even before achieving its goal the exploration had already benefitted the country in many ways including providing employment and training for Sierra Leoneans.

Watching others combine work with diligence, decorum and punctuality in the pursuit of a definite goal as the Exploration Team were doing, Dr. Stevens maintained, was a form of Education in itself.

In the President's entourage were the Minister of Mines, Mr. Hassan Gbassay Kanu, Minister of State and Force Commander Brigadier J. S. Momoh, the Secretary to the President, Mr. Abdul Karim and Assistant to the Secretary to the President, Mr. J.P.A Koroma

CSO: 4700/1327

ECC SPECIAL LOAN FOR RUBBER PROJECT REPORTED

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 19 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] Sierra Leone will now receive a special loan of approximately Le3 million from the European Development Fund for the proposed rubber development project in the Potoru area. According to the National Authorising Office, the loan was approved by the commission of the European Communities (EEC) recently

The loan will partly finance the project.

The project will exploit the Government Rubber Estate in Potoru and in the outlying areas of the Pujehun Districts.

It is expected that about 1,000 acres of the existing estate will be developed together with about 2,500 acres of new plantation.

In addition, the project will support production of rubber on privately-owned plantations covering some 800 acres.

The project which will also process rubber latex into ribbed smoked sheet is being export oriented, and is expected to bring much needed foreign exchange.

The total project, estimated to cost Le10.6 million, will also be financed by the Commonwealth Development Corporation of the United Kingdom; and CAISSE Centrale de Co-operation Economique of France.

Both agencies will provide the balance of funds in equal amounts.

The project implementation is expected to commence by August this year.

The approval of this loan brings to approximately Le 12.1 million, the total commitment to Sierra Leone for projects.

CSO: 4700/1327

FINANCE MINISTER BACK FROM ARAB MEETING

Mogadishu WEEKLY HOME NEWS BULLETIN in English 15 May 82 pp 16-17

[Text] Mogadishu, 9 May (SONNA)--A delegation headed by the Minister of Finance Jaalle Abdullahi Ahmed Addow yesterday returned home after participating in the Arab Economy Ministers conference held in Kuwait.

Among other things the meeting discussed cooperation in the spheres of economy and commerce and ways of projecting investment in poorer Arab countries by their richer brothers.

During its stay in the country the delegation signed a loan agreement of \$19 million with the Arab Fund for Economic Development and Social Affairs.

12 Million dollars of the money will go into the maintenance of the road connecting Jilib with Golweyn and the remaining 7 million dollars will be utilised in the implementation of the second phase of the Mogadisho power extension project.

The Minister and his delegation also visited the Italian Capital, Rome, where they conferred with the Finance, Commerce and Foreign Affairs Ministers of the country.

The talks dealt with the Italian Government's implementation of a prior agreement reached by the two countries.

The delegation was warmly welcomed at the airport by the Minister of Industry Jaalle Abdalla Mohamed Fadil, the Director General of the Ministry of Finance and other government officials.

CSO: 4700/1304

PRESIDENT CLOSES SEMINAR ON TRAINING

Mogadishu WEEKLY HOME NEWS BULLETIN in English 15 May 82 pp 13-14

[Text] Mogadishu, May 9 (SONNA)--The General Secretary of the SRSP President of the SDR Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre has last night closed a training course which was going on for 900 persons from the police forces, local municipalities and Health Training Institute at the Police Academy here.

Speaking on the occasion the President said he appreciated to meet with such a large number of youths ready to take part in the overall developments of the country.

Jaalle Siad stated that the revolution ever since its inception spared no efforts in raising up the professional talents knowledge and political consciousness of the youths which the president said contributed effectively to the nation's struggle for progress and social emancipation.

"The attainment of different professions in the society results in the complete eradication of our main enemies such as ignorance, disease and poverty," said the President.

On rampant tribalism Jaalle Siad pointed out that tribalism besides bringing disunity among the toiling masses obstructs the nation's march toward its cherished goals. For this reason said the President, it is high time we oppose these minor elements at the expense of the interests of the nation.

"In spite of the daring obstacles that came across many concrete achievements were registered during the revolutionary era, and I am optimistic we could add bit more should youths unite their aim of purpose and action in nation-building," the president said.

Commenting on black-marketeering, President Siad underlined that the nation exchanges gold for its essential goods at international markets stressing the need of the police forces as well as the youths to counter-attack those who wish to bleed the people dry.

On scientific socialism Jaalle Siad reiterated again that it was the only road by which the country could achieve rapid progress adding that our socialism interprets the objectives and interests of the Somali nation.

The President urged the youths who finished their training course to display a sense of hard working and perform enthusiasm in their responsibilities for the nation.

Present on the occasion were 1st Vice-President Lt Gen Mohamed Ali Samater SRC members, SRSP and People's Assembly members.

CSO: 4700/1304

## PROSPECTS FOR CEMENT PRODUCTION EXAMINED

Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 30 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Abdulkadir Abikar Husein]

[Text]

In all underdeveloped countries the availability of materials of construction of various types, such as Cement, Plastic materials, Timber and so on assumes a great importance. Much of their hard currency is lost away in purchasing the necessary materials of construction. As a consequence, the search of prime materials for Cement had taken a leap ahead and became inevitable in these countries in which Somalia is one of them.

The prime material for cement is a mixture of limestone and clay in the following proportions; Limestone 76-78% and clay 24-22%.

That mixture can be obtained by dosing proportionately the two components separately: in this case we have artificial Cement.

This is the method used mostly by all Cement plants, because it permits an accurate control of the chemical composition. As alternative, we can use a rock in which the 2 components are already present in the adequate proportions; and in this case we talk of «natural cement».

This rock is not rare in nature and is a limestone - marl, that is frequent in many regions of Somalia.

**HISTORY OF CEMENT:**

In England, some 240 years ago, it was discovered that certain limestones containing clay and Silica could be calcined, and that the product, after grinding and mixing with water, would settle to a hard cement. This natural cement was not only stronger than ceme-

nts in previous use, for example the Pozzolan type, but it would settle under water. Further investigations showed that mixtures of various limestones with clay and sand would also produce good natural cement. Portland cement was developed in 1824 by an Englishman, Joseph Aspdin, who named it for Portland Stone, an attractive and widely used British building Stone. Aspdin used the same materials as are used

for natural cement, but he subjected them to a much higher temperature of calcination (1500 centigrade). The resulting cement was superior to natural cement, particularly in strength.

#### Imports of Cements:

Published statistics are available on the imports of cement for years up to 1976. In addition, the National Agency for Construction materials (NACM) provided verbal estimates for the years 1971-1978. These are shown in the following table:

Year	Tones	Value in thousand So. Sh.
1971	68,682	10,391.8
1972	54,883	8,706.3
1973	42,702	7,968.3
1974	73,985	22,430.2
1975	98,414	40,647.6
1976	78,630	33,023.0
1977	100,000	Not available
1978	33,000	Not available

The year to year variations of the imports support the view that the demand for cement is controlled by what projects are in the course of implementation. Nevertheless, there is a discernible trend which can be calculated by applying a linear curve to the data on the basis of a least squares best fit. This has been calculated using a standard computer programme, which shows an annual increase of about 7000 tonnes. The exponential curve can also be calculated and shows an increase of 10% per year. The exponential curve is not a good fit with the data, having a correlation of 0.68; the correlation of 0.72 for the linear curve is slightly better.

The issue raised by this situation is whether the import statistics shown in previous table reflect the real demand for cement in any year, or whether such effects as shortages of foreign exchange may have depressed imports below the true level of demand. The latter seems likely; the import figures should therefore be, taken as indicating the minimum level of cement demand. On this basis,

extrapolation of the best fit linear curve for the 1971-1978 data can be used to indicate a minimum demand for cement of: in 1985: 151,000 tonnes. If the exponential curve is used the extrapolation of the best fit, trend line indicates a future demand for cement of: 1985: 204,000 tonnes.

With regard to the distribution of cement demand across Somalia detailed statistics are available, but NACM estimated that in 1975 figures indicate 70% of cement demand in the Mogadishu - Shabelle Regions, 20% in Jubba Regions, and 10% in North Somalia, Primarily in Berbera/Hargeysa. The development of the Jubba river valley as a centre of agricultural and eventually industrial activity may in the future shift the balance of demand away from Mog. and towards Kisimayo, but this will not have a significant effect until the late eighties.

In order to cover the increasing domestic demand for cement, and to save the outflow of hard currency, there has been successive Geological surveys carried out in many regions of Somalia. Among the successful Geological studies was that of southern Berbera. Here in



Berbera, North Koreans have partially built a cement plant, which was designed as a wet process plant of 100,000 tons capacity per year. There had been a disagreement for completion of the plant between Somalia and North Koreans and this resulted in the giving up of the Koreans and this resulted in the giving up of the Koreans and the arrival of the French contractors, Creusot-Loire for completion of the plant as a dry process plant of 300,000 tons per year capacity, equivalent to 900-1,000 tons per day.

In the far southwest, the efforts of the British company, Henry Pooley Atkins resulted in success after their hard work in search of cement in the Baardheere area. The site of the deposit is near where the dam is to be built; (26 Km) north of Baardheere and the conclusion of the company was, «The raw material reserves are calculated

to be sufficient to support a 150,000 tons per annum cement plant for a minimum of 90 years; and the type of the Cement is high quality ordi-

nary Portland and Rapid-hardening Portland Cement».

The Geological surveys carried out by the Czechs and British revealed that «rocks of cement» are found in many regions of Somalia such as Hiraan, Gedo, Bay and Bakool, which is covered with Limestone and clay formations. The problem, of cement industry in Somalia is not mostly a fact concerning of the existence of essential rocks but are mostly of economic origin: market, energy, transport and water. Chemical Analyses done on samples of rocks taken from Jiiqlay, a town between Buulo Burte and Beled-weyn, has shown that they are rich in cement; and this work was done by the Faculties of Geology and Chemical Industries of the Somali National University. The samples proved to contain the appropriate proportions of the fossils.

In conclusion, Somalia is sure that one day it would be among the great producers of cement and hopes that this day will arrive in the near future.

## ELPF SPOKESMAN CONFIRMS CHEMICAL WEAPONS USE

Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 30 Apr 82 p 5

[Text]

Now that the United States has verified the use of lethal chemical weapons by the Russians in Laos, Cambodia and Afghanistan, it is high time to check whether the Russians committed the same ruthless act in the Horn of Africa where surrogate forces — Cubans, South Yemen, East Germans — are battling with liberation forces.

Thanks to U. S. intelligence, the inhuman face of Soviet hegemonism has been disclosed once more.

**Hassan Farah**  
**POB 574**  
**Mogadishu**

THE CHIEF EDITOR'S  
 NOTE: A SPOKESMAN

FOR THE ERITREAN LIBERATION FRONT-PEOPLES LIBERATION FORCES IN MOGADISHU, MR. HAMID MOHAMED ADAM, RECENTLY CONFIRMED TO A REUTERS CORRESPONDENT THAT THE ETHIOPIAN FORCES, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF SOVIET GENERALS, HAVE BEEN USING CHEMICAL WEAPONS AGAINST ERITREAN VILLAGERS DURING THE RECENT UNSUCCESSFUL «RED STAR» OPERATION, BUT IT SEEMS THAT U.S. INTELLIGENCE IS MERELY CONCENTRATING ITS ATTENTION ON AFGHANISTAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA FOR REASONS BEST KNOWN TO THEMSELVES.

## BRIEFS

MOGADISHU FISH MARKET PROJECT--Mogadishu, May 11 (SONNA)--The Minister of Fisheries Engineer Osman Jama Ali this evening opened an up-to-date fish market project at Hamar Weyne jointly implemented by the SDR and Japan. The project which costed 29 million and half comprises three sections: refrigeration, processing and marketing. The 1981 fish-marketing agreement between Somalia and Japan also includes another fish-market currently under construction at Wadajir district here as well as fish cooling systems being staged at Brava and El Ahmed near Merca district on the coast. The project here is designed to cool two-and-half tonnes of fish per day while at the same time processing and storing thirty tonnes which make the yearly figure one thousand tonnes. The project employs one thousand Somali fishermen and it is expected to expand to the country's coastal regions. [Text] [Mogadishu WEEKLY HOME NEWS BULLETIN in English 15 May 82 p 7]

JAPANESE AID AGREEMENT SIGNED--Mogadishu, 12 May (SONNA)--The Somali Democratic Republic and the Japanese Government jointly signed a food aid agreement estimated at 200 million yen at the headquarters of the ministry of National Planning here today. The agreement was signed by the Minister of National Planning Brig. Gen. Ahmed Suleiman Abdalla on the Somali side and the Japanese charge d'Affaires resident in Sudan Mr Hajimo Tanki representing his government. Present on the occasion were the Director General of the Ministry of National Planning Jaalle Hussein Elabe Fahiye the Somali Ambassador to Japan Jaalle Mohames Ismail Kahin and other officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and National Planning. [Text] [Mogadishu WEEKLY HOME NEWS BULLETIN in English 15 May 82 p 5]

ITALIAN DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER--Mogadishu, 12 May (SONNA)--The Chairman of the Defence and Security Committee of the National People's Assembly Brig Gen Abukar Hasan Weheliye received the Italian Deputy Defence Minister Sig. Antonio Schovacricchi and a delegation he headed currently on a visit to the SDR at his office here this afternoon. Jaalle Abukar and Sig. Scovacricchi discussed bilateral relations and mutual cooperation between the two countries and parliaments. Jaalle Abukar who spoke on the occasion outlined the structure of the People's Assembly and the general functions of its various committees. Sig. Scrovacricchi in turn briefly gave an explicit picture of the functions of his government's parliament and the committees it consists of. Present on the occasion was Lt. Col. Abdurahman Sheikh Isse, a member of the Foreign Relations Section of the Ministry of Defence here. [Text] [Mogadishu WEEKLY HOME NEWS BULLETIN in English 15 May 82 p 3]

NA'S STANDING COMMITTEE MEETS--Mogadishu, May 14 (SONNA)--After a lengthy debate in a meeting today, the Standing Committee of the N.A. unanimously approved the establishment of the Juba Valley development Ministry. During the meeting, the Committee was briefed by the Minister of the Juba Valley Ministry Jaalle Ahmed Habib Ahmed, identifying the various sections and the basic establishments of the Ministry. Also the Standing Committee has made another conference, discussing a law for the army forces' personnel that has been transferred to the various ministries of the state. After debating about the topic the Committee agreed to discuss this law later in the next year's meeting of the Standing Committee. [Text] [Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 15 May 82 p 4]

CHINESE DONATION TO REFUGEES--Mogadishu, Thursday--The Minister of Justice and Religious Affairs, Jaalle Ahmed Shire Mohamoud, on Monday received from the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China in Mogadishu a gift the organisation of Chinese Moslems sent to the refugees in Somalia. The gift which comprises 268 cartons of canned meat and 60 bundles of blankets was on the spot passed over to the chairman of the National Refugee commission, Jaalle Abdi Mohamed Tarrah. On the occasion which was held at Mogadishu New Port, the Minister and the Chinese Ambassador Liyu Chi exchanged bilateral views that concern the consolidation of the ever improving relations between the two nations. The Minister paid tribute to the organisation of Chinese Moslems for the humane and helping hand they extended to the great number of refugees who fled from the repression and execution of the colonialist regime of Ethiopia.--SONNA [Text] [Mogadishu HEEGAN in English 30 Apr 82 p 1]

CSO: 4700/1304

EFFECTIVENESS OF URBAN FOUNDATION ASSESSED

Pietermaritzburg REALITY in English May 82 pp 15-17

[Article by Robin Lee: "The Urban Foundation: Another Perspective"]

[Text]

**Introduction**

In April 1982 The Urban Foundation will have been operative for a full five years. It is thus appropriate that an attempt should be made to review its activities and assess its position in the South African scene. Peter Wilkinson's article in the last issue of Reality addresses itself to this task with considerable perception and some sympathy. There are, however, certain emphases that the present writer – and I think many members of the Foundation – would dispute. I hope that these points of difference will emerge from the account offered, and do not seek to offer a point-by-point critique of the article.

Two points do however require comment at once as these determine the general tone of the article which, in a way, probably reflects Wilkinson's frustration with an organization like the Foundation. I refer to the markedly apocalyptic tone ('... the Foundation stands poised at the moment of its crisis ...') and the strong "either ... or" nature of the analysis presented. Most of us associated with the Foundation would not find either acceptable: and this in turn is indicative of the pragmatic and gradualist approach that characterises the organization and its activities.

**A positive view**

Those themes are perhaps the best starting points for a positive view of the Foundation. The organization started life in 1977 with a marked project-orientation; however it has, over time, shown signs that it is capable of adapting to changing circumstances. The original emphasis upon a multiplicity of physical projects (1) is being modified into an integrated approach designed to bring about "structural change" in South African society. In other words the emphasis is now placed upon improving the quality of life by aiming at fundamental causes, rather than treating consequences.

This change of emphasis has not been an easy process. It has involved extensive internal discussion and negotiation; commissioning and interpretation of considerable research; and the introduction into the organization of a structured planning process. The first indications of this process emerged in the Executive Director's speech at the Annual General meeting in June 1980 when he said:

"This organization believes in a process of peaceful change. . . Change is not brought about by a single thrust. Indeed it is our belief that the cumulative effect of our efforts and others who actively promote peaceful change can make a positive contribution to a more just dispensation". (2)

Linked with this increased focus on structural change are two other important developments within the Foundation. First, it is placing a much stronger emphasis upon the "negotiating role" — that is, preparing the basis for and making representations on issues of national significance. As Wilkinson has indicated, this type of activity was undertaken by the Foundation from the start in its efforts to promote the 99 year leasehold and the Code of Employment Practice; but a more systematic and purposeful contribution has been made in respect of the Grosskopf Committee considering the Urban Areas Act, the HSRC Investigation into Education, The Viljoen Committee on housing in Soweto and (more recently) the Welgemoed Commission on urban passenger transport. Indeed, it is safe to say that the UF has evolved something of a "methodology" in these activities, involving a synthesis of basic research, consultation with a range of interest groups and formulation of proposals through a sequence of drafts refined through repeated rounds of discussion. For instance, the Foundation's submissions to the de Lange Committee were based upon the sustained involvement over a full year of 300 persons from all communities. A submission developed in this way has a reasonable chance of reflecting real issues and grievances.

Secondly, in attempting to influence structural change, the Foundation is focussing its project activity on a limited number of priority areas and planning significant projects or programmes in those areas, on a scale relevant to the scale of the problem. The priority areas for 1982/4 have been identified as education, housing and business development.

#### **Structural change**

An organization that aims at "structural change" should have a reasonably clear and shared understanding of the concept itself. The Foundation interprets the concept to refer to changes — through reform — in the structures and the institutions of the society, carried out in a systematic manner with defined goals in mind. It would include changes in discriminatory laws, practices and administration, and in social and economic relationships. In the case of the Foundation the goal or purpose of these changes has been

defined as "... the establishment, of a society founded upon justice and the explicit recognition of the dignity and freedom of individuals".

The Foundation seeks to pursue structural changes in the socio-economic field, and does not directly involve itself in political or party political issues. Behind this orientation lie two implicit assumptions about the nature of change. First, that incremental but systematic change offers equally valid potential for reforming a society as does immediate and radical change; and, second, that change can occur in dimensions other than the overtly political before, during and after necessary political change. Most of the social and economic issues addressed by the Foundation do in fact have political implications; this is well understood within the Foundation, without compelling the organization into the fixed ideological position "either political change or ... nothing".

#### **Unlikeminded**

This brings us to a further characteristic of the Foundation that is usually ill-understood by rigorous academic analysts. Unlike many other interest groups, the Foundation is composed of "un-likeminded" persons; persons of differing temperament, political allegiance and community origin, but aimed to represent the best feasible spectrum of South African opinion willing to work constructively together in pursuit of agreed goals. In this regard, the Foundation might be said to represent a form of "open pluralism" as described by Degenaar:

"Open pluralism also recognises cultural diversity, assumes the effectiveness of consociationalism and hopes to overcome group conflict by means of cross-cutting group affiliations and to create mutual trust in order to build an integrated society". (3)

Operating in this manner, the Foundation does not have to clarify and define an agreed single position on each and every national issue. Areas in which agreement and co-operative effort are possible must, of course, be identified, developed and, in time, multiplied; while areas of potential conflict are not avoided or ignored but placed later on the agenda, as it were, as successful negotiation of them depends on the "mutual trust" built up in areas of more immediate common concern. Once again, then, one of the "either ... or" choices put by Wilkinson is not accepted by the Foundation. It is not a case of either working with the "new, democratically organized community movements" or "working through the existing channels of power". Varieties of relationship are possible in this area and can be explored. The Foundation is prepared to work with any community group genuinely concerned with developing its community. It is not for the Urban Foundation to define the "community leadership" of admittedly and understandably fragmented communities, and then to decide to work only with those. Opportunities must be assessed and

## REFERENCES

- (1) The following table gives an indication of the scale of project activity of the Foundation in the period March 1977 to February 1981. Financial figures are in R000's. Number of projects are indicated in brackets.

Project	National	Eastern Cape	Natal	Transvaal	Western Cape	Total	% of Total	Total	% of Total
Housing	500 (1)	596 (13)	2914 (7)	3448 (16)	614 (7)	8072 (44)	34	5498	30
Education & Training	502 (5)	2011 (29)	2015 (53)	2500 (33)	1141 (38)	8169 (158)	34	6625	36
Community Facilities	75 (2)	153 (23)	1120 (31)	1597 (47)	1623 (37)	4568 (14)	19	4220	23
Health Services	—	78 (5)	27 (3)	1008 (7)	93 (8)	1206 (23)	5	342	2
Research	91 (8)	86 (9)	—	228 (13)	41 (11)	446 (41)	2	227	2
Other	594 (10)	15 (3)	266 (20)	198 (15)	411 (23)	1484 (71)	6	1315	7
TOTAL	1762 (26)	2939 (82)	6342 (114)	8979 (131)	3923 (124)	23945 (477)	100	18277	100

- (2) Supplementary remarks issued with the Annual Report 1979/80 : 5 June 1980. Mr Steyn went on to identify the granting of freehold title and the creation of a "unified administration of education" as priority structural change objectives for the Foundation.
- (3) Degenaar, Johan : *Reform: quo vadis* : to be published in Politikon, June, 1982.



taken on merit at the time.

### Private Sector

Wilkinson devotes considerable attention in both his political analysis and his discussion of the Foundation's activities to the question of the "private sector". He appears to assume that the private sector comprises commerce and industry and (more surprisingly) that it is a single, relatively unified entity. The Foundation does not accept either of these views. For us the private sector certainly **includes** commerce and industry; but it also includes professional associations and individuals in private practice, voluntary associations of all kinds, trade unions, churches and individuals acting in their private capacity. It is both an altogether more inclusive category, and less liable to the severe analysis of economic motive that Wilkinson gives it, when he virtually equates "private sector" with "capital". It is important to stress this point, since the private sector embodies what is perhaps the central value represented by the Foundation, that is, the value of **voluntary** association. The Foundation is based on the assumption that valuable contributions to change can be made by a spectrum of groups formed by voluntary association and these groups represent a significant counterweight to the power of the "public sector" — namely political government and state administrative structures. In many ways the "democratically organized community movements" referred to by Wilkinson are established upon the same principle of voluntary association, and thus as **organizations** their role in society is similar to that of the Foundation. (Their specific goals may, of course, vary).

Linked to this value also are the values of individual autonomy and dignity, and the freedom of individuals to form associations in the pursuit of both individual and community goals. The voluntary association represented by companies in commerce and industry is but one aspect of these freedoms. Once again, this leads to a modification of the "either . . . or" approach. It is surely an unacceptable polarisation to maintain that the entire private sector is either co-opted into the "total strategy" or it is not. Fragmentation of possibilities along a spectrum is quite possible, and this creates opportunities for action by a variety of groups within the "private sector".

### Conclusion

In essence then the Foundation would see more value in the latter part of Wilkinson's analysis where he refers to "tensions" between various elements in its make up and in the society in which it operates. However, these are surely "creative tensions", providing the rationale for and the dynamic of the organization itself. As these elements change in strength and direction, so the organization must respond, and a judgement upon it must be based upon the degree to which it identifies and deals with these tensions in the future. In the South African situation it would be foolhardy to predict success: however, awareness must be the start of the process. □

STEYN COMMISSION REPORT EVALUATED

Pietermaritzburg REALITY in English May 82 pp 11-15

[Article by Keyan G Tomaselli and Ruth Tomaselli: "Steyn Commission II: How to Separate Out Truth from Fact"]

[Text]

By the time this article appears, much will have already been written about the **Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media**. What has appeared, both in the press and journals aimed at informed readers (1), does not, unfortunately, really come to terms with the ideological implications of the **Report**. Both concerned themselves with the issue of 'press freedom' without examining the underlying values and assumptions embodied in this concept. These authors argue that the legislation proposed by the Commission continues the trend of press control which was intensified by the National Party after 1948. This desire for increasing manipulation is attributed to arrogance, oversensitivity to criticism and the National Party's "peculiar view of its own status" (2), to a concern for South Africa's national image abroad and a government need to maintain internal security through harsh and repressive measures.

It is our contention that these arguments, while valid on one level, miss the deeper politico-economic and ideological determinants which are at work in South Africa's apartheid economy. A comprehensive understanding of the Steyn Commission lies not so much in regurgitating the oft repeated history of anti-press legislation, but of situating it within the current hegemonic crisis in South Africa.

It is not the aim of this paper to provide an exhaustive critique of the Steyn Commission, for such a task would require many more pages than we have at our disposal (3). We will, however, discuss the **Report** in general and show up some of its myriad surface contradictions. These apparent discontinuities and illogicalities serve to mask a deeper ideological tendency which, although itself full of contradictions, provides the government with a convenient vehicle with which to force 'voluntary' self-regulation onto the press. More important, the Commission has provided 'evidence' of an "unholy alliance" between "powerful financial and political interests in White English-speaking South Africa . . .

(and) . . . certain like external interests in the Western World aiming at a covert and indirect takeover of the whole of South Africa" (p. 764). These interests are teamed up with "radical" organizations such as the World Council of Churches, and locally with the SA Council of Churches, Black Consciousness, the Media Workers Association (MWASA) and the various mutations of Black/African/Liberationist/Feminist theology and are argued to be aiming to replace the present government with a black ruled "radical socialist or Marxist dispensation" (p. 672).

That a Commission was established at all is significant, for this mechanism can be used to defer legislation, to legitimise restrictive measures and to test public consensus. In the case of the press, they are also used to force "self-righting effects" onto the actors they are investigating. Any illusions about the role and function of this Commission should have been dispelled through a reading of the First Steyn Commission, published in 1980. Although *The Star* (21. 8.80), for example, stated that the first Steyn Commission "gave a fair hearing to all interested parties: it reflected a balance of their views in its report" this contention is not shared by many academics, notably John Dugard who criticised the Commission's authoritarian notions of democracy (4).

In his critique of this initial Commission, Les Switzer identifies three functions which the press would have to embrace if it was to survive as a 'free' and 'independent' medium of communication:

1. The press would have to censor the activities of the state's internal and external "enemies" as defined by the state. This implies a shift in emphasis in the press's 'watchdog' role from the state to the "enemies" of the state;
2. The press would have to sustain and promote a positive image of the state's security and defence agencies; and
3. Above all, the press would have to mobilise public opinion in pursuance of the campaign for Total Strategy (5).

The present Commission expands these functions and tries to create a suitable ideological climate in which to facilitate increased state control over the media. To see how this is done it is first necessary to briefly examine the internal structure of the Report.

#### **Apartheid: What the World Always Wanted**

The underlying assumption of the Steyn Commission is predicated upon a rather confused conception of apartheid. Consider the following extract:—

Although isolated and largely cast out of the International Community, the Inner Core of Southern African states (i.e. the RSA, the independent states recently born of its substance, and SWA/Namibia) and its peoples present a picture of apparent paradox -

that of a relatively stable community in a state of flux.

The newly independent states of Transkei, Venda and Boputhatswana, all erstwhile "apartheid Territory", have now become "non-Apartheid areas", a development urged on South Africa for so long and so vehemently by the international community but which remains distressingly unrecognised by the selfsame community (pp. 29-30).

This statement, amongst other things, wilfully confuses process with appearance, and tries to suggest that apartheid is a fulfillment of international prescriptions. A second excerpt will show that these "non-Apartheid areas" are apparently needed to absorb all those blacks who cannot, because of sheer numbers, be physically repressed:

The objective reality of the South African situation is, however, that there are too many Whites for Blacks to 'chase them into the sea' and there are so many Blacks that they cannot be subjugated forcibly by the Whites (pp. 96 & 720).

The reason why whites should want to dominate blacks or vice versa is ignored, and a "no-win" situation has forced South Africa to face "reality". Inhabiting this reality is a community, a "potentially many-splendoured constellation of Peoples" (p. 99), composed of non-conforming prodigal elements who do not seem to understand that their own best interests would be served by supporting the white Nationalist fold:

The Commission is . . . of the view that the South African population, as heterogeneous and divergent in culture as it is, does constitute a community, — a distinct and vigorous one with many common interests, albeit still so sharply divided on certain cardinal issues as to move some of its members to espouse alien ideologies and other socio-political and cultural creeds and methods including treason, terror and subversion in an effort to effect rapid and drastic change in South Africa, or even to overthrow and destroy all the major facets of the present order here pertaining (pp. 29 & 182).

And so the Report continues, the South African reality being continuously threatened by a Total Onslaught orchestrated by Soviets, Marxists, politicised theologians, Black Consciousness, far-left academics who are still struggling with basic definitions, misguided liberals of the John Dugard ilk and radicals of the nature of Bishop Desmond Tutu.

#### **Critic Bashing Made Easy**

Where the Commission's argument is too thin to stand up to scrutiny, and since its authors are for the most part unable

to understand most of the arguments put forward by critics of the first Steyn Commission and the status quo in South Africa, and unable to refute the arguments they can understand, the Commissioners have responded in the only way they are able - that is to trivialise and belittle concepts, arguments and individuals with which they know intuitively they cannot agree. The **Report** admonishes liberal authors in terms of their supposedly inadequate curriculum vitae's and lack of experience in political science and practical politics (eg. pp. 35 & 196), rather than on the basis of their arguments. More sycophantic conservatives whose support of the first Steyn Commission lent a certain credibility to that Inquiry are preferred. Indeed, it seems that much of the first volume is an effort to discredit Dugard and the liberals he stands for. He is criticised for his grammar and expression (pp. 56-7) and is obliquely accused of being an "anti-Afrikaner racist and gross denigrator of the South African judiciary" (p. 57). Academic critiques of Dugard are quoted at length to further cast doubt upon the validity of his writings. Opposing arguments are blandly accepted and held in evidence against him without the Commission itself assessing the relative merits and demerits of the debate, which is clearly much wider than the **Report** admits.

The use of one sided arguments is a hallmark of this **Report**. Apart from plagiarising large amounts of already published academic material drawn from the liberal-humanist school, it pointedly avoids the more critical studies, research and publications of many South African journalists and academics. It relies almost entirely on a very narrow spectrum of South African journals and even within these, has avoided the very material which would have caused the Commissioners to reassess their point of view. The Commission furthermore tries to mobilise the terminology of the radical left against its originators, but in the process trivialises its own position by robbing such terms of their content and aetiology. The Commission then attempts to use what is merely an empty shell to pound non-existent theoretical positions.

Anything to the left of Nationalist ideology is vehemently attacked with whatever quotes, misquotes, religious sentiment or ruse proves handy at the time. The Commission's arguments, apart from being eclectic, disjointed and discontinuous, are nothing more than crude Nationalist ideology clothed in the garb of quasi socio-legalistic semantic contortions. Scattered throughout the **Report** is a plethora of jargonising guaranteed to intimidate the wary journalist and unsuspecting public. Recurring terms such as "practical statecraft" (eg. p. 34), phrases like "mind-set and the upwelling left-liberal enmity" (p. 62) and non-existent words such as "tasked" (Vol 4), "thrombosed" (1340), "Victimologies" (608) all serve to give a spurious intellectuality to the **Report**.

Superficially, and in ideological terms, the **Report** (or some parts of it) appears to make sense, but on a deeper analysis,

it falls prey to its own criticisms of the press, individuals, and organizations it is castigating. It fails to distinguish between fact and ideology, myth and process and cause and effect. Terms like "Conflictual Matrices", "Threat Factors" and other crude categories conveniently conceal actual conditions under discussion, while journalistic conventions and styles are belittled with vigour. The Commission equates "investigative journalism" with "muck-raking", both of which are a product of "new journalism". Offsprings of this non-objective journalism are "advocacy journalism", "personal journalism" and "commitment journalism". All these approaches are united in their "anti-establishment" stance and are characterised by "involvement" (p. 155). Worst of all, they aim "to discover truth, not merely fact" which is proof of "their rejection of objectivity" (p. 142).

Clearly, the Commission abhors this trend which has been given respectability by the Watergate and the local "Info debacle" (pp. 139 & 142). Thus, professionalism (or control) is equated with "objectivity" and "freedom (with responsibility)", while propaganda is argued to be the result of non-professionalism, particularly by black journalists who see themselves as blacks first and journalists second (p. 706). Whereas committed journalism distorts the "hard, tangible and exploitable images of reality" (145), "professionalism . . . guarantees media freedom and independence" (p. 161). Other definitions offered but not developed involve grammatical juggling which has become part and parcel of Nationalist and SABC ideologues who call themselves linguists. The intensity of the Total Onslaught, for example, can be measured in terms of vertical and horizontal axes. Apparently, the "Conflictual Matrix" is related to this, but since less than six lines are offered in explanation we must assume that this formula has an ideological basis obscured by mathematics.

#### **Metaphor: The Theological Connection**

The Commission constantly reveals its politico-evangelical purpose through its heavy handed use of metaphor and simile. Biblical imagery creeps up from behind adjectives and nouns and supports the Total Strategy in almost every sentence, for example:

. . . South Africa is confronted by devilish ideologies which, figuratively speaking, plant political landmines and lay cultural and spiritual booby traps in order to overthrow the existing socio-political order (144).

Unable to indict its theological opponents in South Africa directly, the Commission resorts to smear by association and tries to unleash theological terror via metaphorical engineering. In an attempt to identify the South African Council of Churches with the WCC, the Commissioners provide sufficient imagery to script an academy-award-winning satanic horror movie:

The WCC's "Council Conduct" amounts to "Clerics of

the Councils" clad in the Cloth, clutching the **Reversed Cross** and animated by the precepts of the "Theology of Liberation", entering the Arena of Mundane Politics, and employing the Cross in its "Battle-Axe" role to help them achieve their **POLITICAL** goals. (Emphases, capitals and quotation marks in the original) (pp. 82 & 582).

Discussing the Social Gospel under the heading of "The Fateful Seed", the Commission, nary a theologian amongst them, comments:

The movement whereby the Gospel was sought to be secularised and collectivised was the seed whence sprang the thorny, and as to certain of its branches, also poisonous growth of Political Theology, which has now started bearing the sinister and unhappy fruits of Theologised Politics (499).

The Commission's own politicised evangelism is emphasised in its choice of words like "epilogue" in place of 'conclusion' (p. 104), "brethren" (p. 48) for 'colleagues' and "excommunication" for 'sports boycotts' (p. 297), to name a few. Simultaneously, the Commission tries to hide its own zeal behind the use of quaint and romantic euphemisms such as "gentlemen of the Cloth" to describe ministers of religion who - incidentally - should be ministering to their flocks on a vertical and not a horizontal plane. These horizontal 'social gospellers' are really nothing more than Soviet proxies and liberal misfits who are (perhaps unwittingly) aiding the leftist press and black journalists in the "process of socio-political demolition . . ." (p. 125). This tenuous thread of pseudo-theological mumbo jumbo is tied together with a series of garbled headings spewed out by a jargon machine: "The Unctuous Pariah-making Politico-Theological and Journalistic "Fashion" " (p. 722), "The potentially lethal theo-political force" (88), and so on.

It seems that Bishop Desmond Tutu is held responsible for most of this.

#### **The Good, the Bad, the North, the South, the East, the West . . . .**

In an effort to come to terms with the complexities of reality, the Commission reduces the complex processes operating in the world to a series of simplistic binary opposites, for instance, "First World-Third World dichotomy of rich versus poor or White North versus Black South" (p. 66). As with most orthodox economic theorists who postulate these dualistic theories, the Commissioners make the mistake of imposing breaks where there are, in fact, connections. They are unaware of the relations between these so-called geographical areas and seem to think that the "Rich North" attained its wealth without at the same time denuding the "Poor South". The poverty of Third World countries is considered to be an original state resulting from the backward techniques and static social relations

which characterise their indigenous inhabitants. That these conditions are conversely argued to be a result of the process of active underdevelopment by colonial and neo-colonial countries is simply not comprehended. The Commission's lack of understanding is further highlighted by its misinterpretation of at least one author (6) who argues for the causal connection between neo-colonial exploitation and the underdevelopment which characterises the world's poorest nations.

In the same way, the Commissioners are able to close their eyes to the process of apartheid which is based on cheap labour drawn from 'backward' homeland areas in South Africa. The rhetoric of 'separate development' is designed to obfuscate the physical and social inter-connections and economic inter-relations which dualist theory tries to mystify. But even the crudest dualists have nothing on the Steyn Commission which provides a litany of opposites rarely matched in dualist thought: "an irreversible anti-Black White racism, as well as an irreconcilable Afrikaner-English, Marxist-Capitalist and First World-Third World conflict as acknowledged complicating factors . . ." (p. 174). This statement indicates a complete lack of analytical rigour and the use of bi-polar opposites in this manner conjures up unscientific emotive overtones.

Extrapolating the Commission's semantic associations, it becomes clear that "Rich, White (mainly Afrikaner) and Capitalism" = good; while "Poor, Black and Marxism" = Bad.

#### **The Black Press: The Road to Revolution**

The Commission is never quite sure where it stands in relation to the captive black press. While supporting the banning of *World*, *Weekend World*, *Post* (Tvl) and *Week-end Post* (Tvl) in terms of "the principle" but not "the manner" of restriction, as necessary security measures (p. 19), it lauds the English press for "rendering a very valuable service . . . to the South African community by informing it constantly of Black opinion and aspirations" (p. 139). It accuses MWASA of operating under the banner of Black Consciousness and of "radicalising Black Journalists for the purpose of using them as political 'shock troops'" (p. 92), but at the same time claims that black radical thought should not be "ignored or suppressed" but "fairly and adequately dealt with" (p.887).

Simplistic and spurious correlations between the supposed revolutionary black press and social responses permeate the diatribe on this press: "It is significant that Soweto returned to normal after the banning of the *World* and other organizations" (pp. 121 & 1055). No discussion about other repressive measures such as the use of police who killed over 700 people during the riots is mentioned. No description of what constitutes "normal" is offered — just a bland observation which ignores all the other variables which were operating at the time. **The Steyn Report** also



does its best to misinterpret the Cillie Commission (7) which absolved the press of all blame in the causation of the riots (p. 121).

The black press stands accused of contributing to "unstable conditions", of being "unsympathetic to the Government's steps for reform", of incitory actions imposed against "institutions of its own people" (such as the government-imposed Community Councils), of having "abolished the principles of journalistic objectivity" and of aiding the English press in "socio-political demolition" (p. 125). Having discussed the 'black' press on the level of the sublime, the Commission now moves into the ridiculous. It complains that there is no "truly independent black press" in South Africa. This is despite the fact "that there is among Blacks a need for a truly independent Black press which can express the feelings and aspirations of Black opinions and perceptions, especially the moderate majority" (p. 130). Such a press is required, amongst other reasons, because "the Afrikaans press and SABC have failed to report adequately on the hopes and aspirations, suffering and frustrations of the Black community" (pp. 1286 & 128).

The constant harping by the Commission on the mythical black "moderate majority" suggests that it has totally misread the role and function of the captive black press. The arguments put forward by scholars of the left (who remain unread) that this captive press was not radical in the true sense of the word, in that it supports a continuance of capitalism and its consequent class structure, modified only by the removal of "hurtful discrimination" went unheeded (8). But then, when people like Bishop Tutu and Dr N Motlana are categorised as 'radicals', it becomes difficult to persuade the Commission that within the wider spectrum of black thought such individuals represent moderate political opinions.

#### **'The Facts': Their Ideological Derivation**

The Commission, which accuses journalists of not separating 'facts' from comment, consistently claims that liberal arguments are "not borne out by the facts" (eg. pp. 24 & 52). Conversely, the Commission's point of view is always 'supported by the facts', even their slanderous strictures and emotive conclusions. These seem to refer to some set of undeniable reality which exists in its own deified plane. This hallowed reality is visible to some (like the Commissioners) but not to others. It is an independent entity. This reality has nothing to do with contexts, circumstances or interpretations.

What the Commission is really saying is that 'the facts' are pre-existent. They are built into their assumptions and world view and form the basis of 'the taken-for-granted' which informs the Commission's frame of reference. Clearly, what the Commissioners consider 'facts' are really the "values" and "ideologies" of the dominant group. 'Facts'

are rooted to contexts and interpretations and their decipherment is largely influenced by an individual's ideological perceptions, his/her way of seeing the world and what he/she takes for granted in it.

The Commission most certainly takes apartheid for granted, as if it were a natural state for humankind to evolve ("a dynamically developing and expanding democracy"—pp. 126, 188ff & 245), divinely sanctioned and threatened by Western and Soviet evil.

'Facts' should not be confused with 'truth'. The Commission has no intention of allowing journalists to discover "truth". It is their job to report facts, not the truth, to reinforce prevailing ideologies and to eliminate conflicting perceptions of 'the same realities'. This "perceptual credibility gap" (p. 913) is the result of "faulty image of reality" caused by a malicious English press whose reports feed the negative external image of South Africa. If journalists cannot or will not report they will be "professionalised" into doing so since the "presenting of more than one possibility or alternative" (see eg. p. 1278) is akin to "climate-setting" which confuses readers and casts doubt upon the credibility of newspapers.

### Conclusion

The errors, contradictions and spurious suppositions in the Steyn Commission are so glaring that a critique of its **Report** is like erecting a straw man and setting him alight. If it was not for the very serious implications of this Inquiry, the foregoing analysis would have been a totally self-indulgent exercise.

Throughout the **Report** runs a basic contradiction: on the one hand the "Inner Core of South African States" is conceptualised as a single unified community, dualist analyses notwithstanding, while on the other, the Commission is at great pains to outline the irreconcilable differences which exist between the different sections of the South African population. The true community of South Africa is thus identified as being synonymous with the interests of the National Party. All else is seen outside the interests of South Africa. **The Commission intuitively realises this truth but hopes to set a climate whereby the 'facts' obscure it.**

The Commission sets a background, an understanding and interpretation of matters relating to the media which may or may not have a direct relation to reality. Nevertheless, the Commission's **Report** will be used by the government as a definitive source for future debate and legislation, not only in terms of immediate legislation the government will try to push through on the strength of the Inquiry. Just as it is now impossible to refer to any sort of labour issue unless it is done against the background of the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions, so too the Steyn Commission will gather unto itself a sense of authenticity and authority.

It will be used as a constant threat against the press. It will become the source for definitions of reality; and future debate will concern itself not so much with actual conditions, but against the perceived background provided by the Report. Having been ascribed this stamp of authority - no matter how contradictory or inaccurate the Report - the pieces can be extracted from anywhere in the Report and quoted at dissidents with impunity.

The Report reads like a script from The Goon Show, but this should not lull us into neglecting its sinister content.

Having obscured fact and truth and endorsing a news environment in which certain criticism is permissible, provided it is not supported by 'the facts' (9), the Commission provides its **coup de grace** - the rendering impotent of Anglo-American's indirect ownership and control of the two major English press groups, SA Associated Newspapers and the Argus Company. No single shareholder will be allowed to own more than 1% of the total shares issued. Majority shareholders should be given three years to divest their holdings.

This makes possible the interpenetration of Afrikaner capital of the English press through individuals who already have holdings in Afrikaans and Nationalist media concerns.

The Steyn Commission and the possibilities of ownership and control which result from its recommendations will result in an immeasurable ideological return for the taxpayer's money. Why waste R12 million on a government-sponsored newspaper when you can capture the entire opposition press for the cost of a Commission of Enquiry (R201 000)? □

#### Notes and References

1. See, eg., **SA Outlook**, 1982 (forthcoming); **SA International** (forthcoming) 1982. See also **The Journalist**, February 1982 pp. 6 - 7.
2. Stewart, G. 1982: in **SA Outlook op. cit.**
3. The Steyn Commission Report is to be the subject of a special issue in a forthcoming issue of **Critical Arts: A Journal for Media Studies** (July 1982, Vol 2 No. 3).
4. The two references listed are Dugard, J. 1978: **Human Rights and the South African Legal Order**, University of Princeton Press, Princeton. and Dugard et al, 1979: "**The South African Press Council: A Critical Review**", Univ. of Witwatersrand. The latter reference given by the Steyn Commission does not exist. It should, in fact, be Adelman, S. Howard, J., Stuart, K and van Eeden, A. 1979: "**The South African Press Council**".
5. Switzer, L. 1980: "Steyn Commission 1: The Press and Total Strategy", **Critical Arts**, Vol 1 No 4, pp. 41-44. The reference to the Commission is: Republic of South Africa. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Reporting of Security Matters Regarding the South African Defence Force and the South African Police Force. RP 52/1980.
6. See, eg., Higgins, R. 1980: **The Seventh Enemy - The Human Factor in the Global Crisis**, Pan Books.

7. Republic of South Africa. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Riots at Soweto and Elsewhere from June 16 to February 28. Cape Town, 1980.
8. See, e.g., Switzer, L. and Switzer, D. 1979: **The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho: A Bibliographical Guide to Newspapers, Newsletters and Magazines, 1936-1976**. GK Hall, Boston; Whitehead, M. 1976: "The Black Gatekeepers". B.A. (Hons) Thesis, Dept. of Journalism, Rhodes University, Grahamstown. This Department also has a wealth of other research data which refute the Commission's interpretations.
9. Stewart, G. 1980: "Serving the Governors", **SA Outlook**, June, p. 4.  
— A Critical Review", Centre for Applied Legal Studies, Univ. of Witwatersrand. Dugard is the Director of the Centre and contributed only an "Explanatory Forward" to the publication.

CSO: 4700/1324

COMMENTS ON AGGETT, NP SPLIT, BUTHELEZI COMMISSION REPORTED

Pietermaritzburg REALITY in English May 82 pp 1-3

[Editorials]

[Text] Neil Aggett

We would not like anyone to think that, because there was no comment on Dr. Neil Aggett's death in the last issue of REALITY, we have no thoughts on the matter. We have plenty. The only reason they were not expressed then was that that issue was already with the printers when Dr. Aggett died.

Our thoughts are roughly these.

Along with Mrs. Helen Suzman we think that Dr. Aggett was killed by the Terrorism Act and its provisions for solitary confinement under interrogation, and that whether those provisions led to his death through miscalculation, as in the case of Steve Biko, or to his suicide, hardly matters.

We think that the Terrorism Act is designed to reduce those detained under its provisions to a state where most of them will say what their interrogators want them to say. If their personalities disintegrate in the process, bad luck.

We think that the occasional death of a person held under the Terrorism Act is a source of embarrassment to the

interrogators, not much more than that. After all, not one of these deaths has yet led to anyone being convicted of any crime, and there are small grounds for hope that one ever will.

We think that there are some interrogators who may even regard the deaths in detention of some detainees as a useful aid in their efforts to break down others. After the disturbances at Ngoye in 1976 a witness testified that after his arrest a policeman told him that he was going to meet a police captain "who had already killed ten people in detention". And, at the inquest into the death in detention of Mapetla Mohapi, Miss Thenjiwe Mtintso testified that, during her own detention, she had been warned by a security policeman that, if she continued to lie, she would go "the same way as Mohapi".

Finally, we think the time has long passed when our courts should refuse to accept any evidence given by anyone who has been held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. □

## Botha and Treurnicht

Does the Botha/Treurnicht split hold out the hope for important, negotiated change in South Africa? Not much, at this stage, we wouldn't think.

Both Mr. Botha and Dr. Treurnicht claim to be the authentic guardians of Nationalist Party policy. The support for Dr. Treurnicht's version of this policy is already very considerable, probably greater than most people anticipated, and it will almost certainly grow. The question is, how much?

In these early days of the break, political commentators who would like to see negotiated change are hoping that this right-wing pressure will force Mr. Botha to look for friends elsewhere, even to the Progressive Party. We don't know whether Mr. Botha is psychologically capable of such a move, or whether what he regards as progress would appeal to even the most conservative Progressive . . . . . and pressure from the Right could just as easily draw him in that direction as push him in the other. However, that change is coming in South Africa there can be no doubt. It will either come by negotiation accompanied by a certain amount of violence, or after a catastrophe.

If it is to happen by negotiation, the moment at which the process started will only become clear in the light of history. We aren't very hopeful, but this break might just be it.

There are, however, two important points to remember.

We haven't got another 100 years to get to the negotiating table. And as long as those who control white power insist that they will only negotiate on the basis of Nationalist principles, we will never get there at all. □

## The Buthelezi Commission

In our next issue we hope to carry a detailed assessment of the report of the Buthelezi Commission, by Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town.

For the moment, all we want to say is that we regard the Report as a most important and responsible document. Although it is concerned only with Natal and Kwa-Zulu it suggests a possible starting point for a shared future for all South Africans. From that starting-point, as confidence in one another grew, we could begin to build together the non-racial future which most of us want. The report has won widespread support in Natal. It has only been rejected by the Nationalist Party, which says it is in conflict with the

basic principles of apartheid, by the New Republic Party, which says its policy provides the answer to everything, and by the Natal Indian Congress, which says it is committed to the Freedom Charter.

We hope these are not firm positions from which these three bodies have no intention of ever moving. After all, negotiated change can only come from negotiation . . . . . and at the end of it all everyone, no doubt, ends up with something less than they would like to have, but reasonably satisfied with what they have got.

To reach that happy point one has to start somewhere, and the Buthelezi Report could be the place to do it. ☐

CSO: 4700/1324

## PRESS COMMENTS ON BOTHA-KAUNDA MEETING REPORTED

Pretoria SOUTH AFRICAN DIGEST in English 7 May 82 pp 17-21

[From the "Comment and Opinion" section]

[Text]

## —& Beeld

### A bonus

Because of its isolation, South Africa is not really accustomed to summits between statesmen like Friday's meeting between Mr P W Botha and President Kenneth Kaunda. The mere fact that it is considered so exceptional that two Southern African leaders have held discussions — and the venue, right on a border, is as exceptional — underlines the tense nature of our relations with other countries both in and outside Africa.

South Africa's race policies have resulted in unwillingness by other countries to maintain normal relations with it. Our isolation would have been even greater had South Africa's economic and strategic position in the world not often weighed heavier than the factors determining political isolation.

Obviously South Africa would like to step out of this political isolation but the questions is — what is required to bring this about? Would scrapping of all measures based on discrimination or race solve the problem? Would giving Coloured people a say in central government open doors in Africa? Would the new South Africa the Progs would like to put together at a national convention produce a breakthrough?

It's dangerous to make political prophecies, but it is most doubtful that a government of moderates, in which all the above factors would be considered, would satisfy the radical

voices in Africa and beyond.

The Mugabes, Machel and Nyerere of this continent demand of South Africa things which nobody seeking the best interests of his country could seriously heed, however urgent the need for a more just society. South Africans will have to be led by their Christian consciences in the quest for a new political dispensation that will ensure peace and prosperity.

As far as this is concerned, there has been progress since Mr John Vorster and President Kaunda met in 1975. Much was expected of this summit, but in the end little came of it.

In the constitutional sphere things have not stood still and in other areas there has also been progress. There has already been a bonus in the shape of more constructive relations with the leader of the West, the US.

The summit with President Kaunda could also contain a bonus for South Africa. From South Africa's point of view, the best reforms will not open all doors in the continent. But it is certainly not necessary that Africa should continue to believe in the distorted image it has of our society, which is in a period of dynamic change.

South Africa is unloved because of what it is known for, particularly in Africa. The bonus of a summit like that at Wildebeeskop could be that what is *not* known about South Africa becomes *better* known. And when it



glimmers through that we are as serious about creating a just dispensation as we are to counter ridiculous demands, useful dialogue with Africa can start. But the Wildebeeskop summit was the start, after all . . .  
Johannesburg A — May 3

## **The Natal Mercury**

### **Border summit**

The meeting between the Prime Minister of South Africa and President Kaunda of Zambia somewhere on the Botswana border tomorrow will not be as dramatic, either scenically or diplomatically, as the Victoria Falls Bridge summit when Mr John Vorster was Prime Minister. But it could be a lot more productive. Much has changed in the intervening years and there is now a keener appreciation on both sides of the hard realities of life in Africa.

The old white-ruled Rhodesia has gone, the South West African question festers on, and the monolithic National Party over which Mr Vorster presided has shed its hardliners and is adapting to inexorable change — which may have persuaded Dr Kaunda that a new initiative could be worthwhile in spite of the political risks it poses for him.

In confirming his mission to 'pump sense into these Boer friends of ours', as he put it, Dr Kaunda was at pains to explain that he had briefed his colleagues in the other front-line States; but he had not sought their permission, nor was he in any sense representing them. In Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe has scorned contact with Pretoria, and it would seem that Dr Kaunda has no visible support from black States, excepting Botswana, which has encouraged the meeting.

Behind the scenes, however, there will be intense interest in neighbouring black capitals, for the destiny of the entire region is inextricably bound up with the situation in South West Africa and South Africa, which Dr Kaunda describes as 'explosive'.

His own economic and political troubles are mounting by the day, and no black leader in the sub-continent today has any illusions about his dependence on South Africa for

food and other imports, transport links and, to some extent, internal stability. In spite of Dr Kaunda's rather lofty disclaimer, it is difficult to see how economic matters can fail to figure prominently in the talks.

He may also have some proposals to hasten progress on South West Africa, and he has hinted at an initiative on the release of detained black leaders. One must presume that the diplomatic ground for the meeting has been well prepared and that both leaders are satisfied that there are matters of real substance to be discussed.

Durban

E — April 29

## **Sunday Express**

### **The summit: what now?**

Although the historic bush summit between Mr P W Botha and his Zambian counterpart Dr Kenneth Kaunda cannot be hailed as a significant diplomatic breakthrough in international terms, its relevance to the complex issues in Southern Africa, and not least the awesome prospect of intensified military commitment, is an entirely different matter.

Indeed, such is the extent of South Africa's growing confrontation with her immediate neighbours that the Kaunda-Botha indaba was a significant event in the sense that it took place at all.

Now that it has happened, the forces at play in this bedevilled region of Africa can only hope that in its wake deeds will be translated soon into results more measurable than a meeting merely of historic interest.

If anything, it heralds the prospect of both sides establishing new lines of communication, even if it means being restricted to obtaining results on issues of mutual interest only.

It is a start.

While Kenneth Kaunda, in this his second meeting with a white Nationalist South African Prime Minister, appears at first glance to be running the greater risk of losing more, both sides have much to gain.

Dr Kaunda's overriding motive may well be that it makes good economic sense for Zambia, at a time

when its economy has been plunged into the worst crisis in its history, to precipitate diplomatic contact-making missions with a country rejected with contempt by himself and every one of his allies in Africa.

However, whatever economic incentives may have been offered, the Zambian leader, who was severely criticised by his fellow Frontline heads of state for meeting Mr Botha, remains unquestionably anxious to explore the benefits of economic aid from South Africa.

In doing so, however, he cannot afford to run the risk of rather losing face with the rest of the continent; he must be seen to have earned acceptance of tacit financial aid as part of a package deal that also provides for payment in the form of political dividends — change — in South Africa.

That is why their summit means so much for prospects of peace and co-operation in Southern Africa — forged, as it is so easily can be, on grounds of mutual self-respect, inter-State contact, and leader-to-leader dialogue on mutual problems such as the situation in Namibia.

Above all, it means that Mr Botha, having outlined to President Kaunda — and thus to Africa — the concept of his pending reform proposals, and re-emphasising the Government's commitment to moving away from racial discrimination, may now be encouraged to press ahead more confidently.

Johannesburg

E — May 2

## **Die Vaderland**

### **New hope for Southern Africa**

The most important aspect of the meeting between Premier P W Botha and President Kaunda is that it took place at all.

The encouraging aspect is that it was obviously a forerunner that opened doors to further dialogue and that, as far as is known, it took place in a positive spirit.

There are no details of what was discussed, but an indication that it could have been more than a feeler summit could be contained in the remark of President Kaunda's press

secretary: Another meeting is possible depending on what happens during the next few weeks.

Understandably neither party wants to be committed too strongly to either the negative or the positive at this stage. In the past attempts at détente between South Africa and Black Africa have landed on the rocks.

If the current effort gets off the ground, it could have valuable results for both South and Southern Africa.

President Kaunda is an influential leader in this region. Despite Zambia's economic problems the country is one of the most stable in Africa, as evidenced by President Kaunda's uninterrupted regime since independence. He is the doyen of heads of state in Southern Africa. And Zambia is one of the frontline states now concerned with a settlement in Namibia.

Strong ties in the spheres of economy and technology already exist between South Africa and the other Southern African states. Were the negative political climate to thaw, it would only benefit the region and all its people as a whole.

There is every reason to strive for an improved climate. The danger of escalating violence in Southern Africa is tangible.

Zambia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Angola are all more or less compromised to provide bases for Swapo and the ANC. This exposes them to attacks from South Africa which is militarily stronger.

Intensification of the struggle could also sabotage existing economic ties. Destabilisation of South Africa could not take place without far worse destabilisation of its neighbours.

Johannesburg

A — May 3

## **RAND Daily Mail**

### **Not a bad start...**

Yesterday's summit meeting between the South African Prime Minister and the Zambian president may have been described as no more than "useful", but we believe it underlined dramatically the strength of the common interest which white and black share in the sub-continent.

Apartheid might be the great divide that keeps the Kaundas and Bo-

thas apart, and allows them to meet only briefly in mobile premises carefully parked on opposite sides of the border, but it fails to separate those common interests.

Apartheid was responsible for the negative aspects of yesterday's meeting: for the extreme delicacy with which the preparations had to be handled, for the critical reaction of President Nyerere and Mr Mugabe, for the disinclination of Botswana to provide the meeting place, for the positioning of the South African and Zambian representatives on opposite sides of the border.

Apartheid, unless it is eliminated, will continue to be the stumbling block to regular, frank and useful discussions between the leaders of South Africa and her neighbouring states. Worse, it will remain the single biggest obstacle to the sharing of skills and systems and resources between countries with common problems of underdevelopment.

It is a measure of the strength of those common interests that nearly 50 000 people from Africa visited this country in the past year on business. These visitors, as Mr P W Botha told Parliament this week, came not only from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, but also from Angola, Kenya, Malawi, Mauritius and Mozambique. And in spite of the Organisation of African Unity's call for an economic boycott of South Africa, the Republic trades with 49 African countries.

That in itself is a good enough reason for Dr Kaunda and Mr Botha to get together. There must be plenty of useful economic deals to be struck between the two states. But thanks to this government's racist policies, that kind of negotiation has to be preceded by the cautious, exploratory coming together we saw yesterday — for the second time round.

Will Dr Kaunda have to go through the same performance again with a third successive South African Prime Minister? We sincerely hope not. It is doubtful whether his reputation could stand it.

This time Mr Botha has to deliver — unless he wants the black African leader who risked meeting with him to be derided forever. He responded with admirable promptness to Dr Kaunda's initiative — he must now, for the sake of his own political reputation, prove to Africa's satisfaction

that he is working actively for change.

For the rest, we must be satisfied that the talks went ahead, that they ended in an apparently pleasant atmosphere, that the joint communique was at least positively non-committal. That, in South African terms, has to be a good beginning.

Johannesburg

E — May 1

## DIE BURGER

### Summit with Kaunda

It would be unrealistic to expect that the deliberations on Friday between the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, will suddenly lead to a dramatic improvement in the relations between these two countries.

On the other hand, it would be just as wrong to write it off as a useless exercise. Any dialogue among the leaders of countries, especially in the strained circumstances of Southern Africa, offers the opportunity of acquiring new insight into one another's problems. It could lead to better understanding, although not necessarily so.

We do not attach much value to certain unflattering remarks about South Africa which President Kaunda expressed at a press conference in Lusaka on Wednesday. What certain leaders utter for public consumption frequently differs widely from what they have to say when they sit down to international deliberations.

Moreover, President Kaunda realises that there is little enthusiasm, to put it mildly, for this initiative on his part among most of the other front-line states. Even inside his own country it could hold political dangers for him.

That Mr Botha agreed to the dialogue, once again illustrates South Africa's willingness to do everything in her power to achieve a better understanding among the countries of Southern Africa, as well as greater stability in this part of the world. If, for example, they could only progress one step closer to a mutually acceptable solution for the dispute over South West, that would be gain indeed.

On one matter Mr Botha will not leave President Kaunda in any doubt, and this is that South Africa will solve its internal problems in its own way, and that no attempt at intimidation will cause him to deviate from this course.

Cape Town

A — April 30

Eastern Province  
**HERALD**

### **That border meeting**

The Prime Minister, Mr Botha, and President Kenneth Kaunda would not be meeting each other tomorrow unless each believed his country had something to gain.

The initial area of discussion is almost certain to be Namibia. Both could be looking for a bonus from an interchange of ideas on this thorny issue.

- Mr Botha, if he believed Dr Kaunda could wean the Frontline States away from their hostile attitude towards the West's proposal for a double-vote system in the territory's first free election. That could cut the ground from under Swapo's feet, hasten a settlement in Namibia and end the debilitating war.

- Dr Kaunda, if he believed he could persuade Mr Botha that the likelihood of such a settlement was miniscule as long as Swapo believed the two-vote proposal was something contrived by South Africa to load that election in favour of the minority groups.

Yet again, from Dr Kaunda's viewpoint, the basic purpose of the meeting may simply be business. Zambia is in dire economic difficulties, and needs faster and better rail outlets for its raw materials exports.

South Africa has the industrial base and expertise to be the powerhouse of Southern Africa, thus exerting an influence in favour of the Western style of life that can sometimes transcend politics. But that influence cannot be fully exerted in a hostile environment. At the same time the military alert that has to be maintained on South Africa's borders with its black neighbours is costing this country millions.

On that basis alone there could be

profit for both Zambia and South Africa in this meeting. But quick results are unlikely.

One thing is fairly certain: the meeting could cost Dr Kaunda more than it does Mr Botha. Unless the Frontline States have charged him with this mission — though there has been no sign of that — he runs the risk of looking like a sellout in the eyes of the rest of black Africa. Particularly if he should come away with no tangible prize.

So the Zambian leader must have a compelling reason to want to meet the South African Premier. Perhaps Swapo is bleeding to death and in need of an intercessionary — although its latest incursion into South West Africa does not suggest that. Possibly the reason is internal from another aspect: Zambia may no longer want to take the chance of playing host to both ANC and Swapo terrorists in a situation where the Namibian war is spreading wider and deeper.

Whatever the reason and despite the fact that the Victoria Falls bridge meeting between Mr Vorster and Dr Kaunda led to nothing, tomorrow's encounter is hopeful if only because it represents a dialogue between two of Africa's most powerful leaders.

The fact that it is seen as something sensational shows the dismal level of South Africa's relations with its black neighbours — outside of the homelands. In a normal political climate such meetings would be commonplace.

Port Elizabeth

E — April 29

## **Rapport**

### **Bush summit**

Friday's summit between Mr P W Botha and President Kenneth Kaunda could be described as a summit in the bush in a figurative sense. Were each difference, interest, suspicion and other reason to be represented symbolically as a tree, an entire forest would have had to be cleared to obtain lasting understanding and mutual co-operation on a healthy basis.

But as a small clearing had to be made and a border fence flattened to

make possible the first summit between the leaders, it can be said that the summit itself served as the start of the removal of the entire forest of obstacles in the path of healthy co-operation.

It is doubtful whether the two leaders got further than stating views on matters at the heart of the alienation. But that's a good start, as they will hopefully understand each other better now.

For Mr Botha it will be possible to gain first-hand information of the views of a key figure in African politics and to convey it to his fellow decision-makers. And this is important, even if at this stage all it means is that the actual differences and problems can be better defined and identified.

For President Kaunda it will be possible to convey to his fellow decision-makers and leaders of the front line states the views of a strong leading figure in Southern Africa. Hopefully greater understanding will result of cardinal issues like the method by which South West should gain independence and the complicated situation in South Africa where all national groups in all areas have to come into their own.

Naturally there is the risk that the summit on the Botswana border could lead to intensification of the violent campaign against South Africa, which would in future make it more difficult for President Kaunda to deliberate with Mr Botha.

Yet it is our earnest hope that the contact between the two governments will continue for solutions can only come through contact. This could gradually change the entire climate in Southern Africa.

Johannesburg

A — May 2

CSO: 4700/1326

TREATMENT OF DETAINEES UNDER FIRE

Pietermaritzburg REALITY in English May 82 pp 4-6

[Article by Julian Riekert: "The Death of Neil Aggett"]

[Text]

- Q. If a detainee, this man or any other, on being interrogated after he has been detained, says "I am not under any circumstances prepared to give you any information whatsoever" do you leave him alone or do you take further steps?
- A. Well, he's got to be asked again.
- Q. And again?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And again?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And again?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And again?
- A. Yes.
- Q. I see. The idea being to wear him down I suppose?
- A. I make no comment.
- Q. Well, what is the idea, you give me your comment?
- A. Well, he is there to give information that's why he is detained.
- Q. But he's already told you two or three times he won't talk?
- A. Then he'll eventually let go . . . .
- Q. Well then supposing you had a case of a suspect who was detained because you, the police, genuinely believed that he could give certain information, and if in fact your belief was wrong and this man couldn't give you information, would you keep on questioning him over and over again?
- A. I would question him, yes.
- Q. You would, over and over again?

A. Yes.

Q. That would be a dreadful thing to happen to a man wouldn't it, if in fact you were wrong?

A. Yes.

Q. It would be. And all that that man would be able to see as far as his future is concerned would be an endless vista of imprisonment coupled with repeated questioning?

A. Yes.

**(Extract from inquest proceedings into the death of detainee L S Ngudle, who died in detention in 1963).**

... any commissioned officer ... of or above the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel may, if he has reason to believe that any person ... is a terrorist or is withholding from the South African Police any information relating to terrorists ... arrest such person or cause him to be arrested, without warrant and detain or cause to be detained for interrogation at such place in the Republic and subject to such conditions as the Commissioner may ... determine, until the Commissioner orders his release when satisfied that he has satisfactorily replied to all questions at the said interrogation or that no useful purpose will be served by his further detention ...

**(Section 6 (1) of the Terrorism Act 83 of 1967)**

.....

Neil Aggett died in the custody of the Security Police on Friday, 5 February 1982. His death is the subject of inquest proceedings and so one must be very careful not to anticipate the findings of the inquest court or to make any statement which might influence the court in coming to its decision. For most of us the findings of the inquest court are unimportant. Whether it finds that Neil Aggett's death was murder, culpable homicide, an accident or suicide, we will lay his death at the door of our security legislation, and particularly the Terrorism Act, which makes it possible for a person to be held in solitary confinement and relentlessly questioned while at the sole whim of his interrogators. That abuses might occur under such circumstances should not surprise us, for we know, or ought to know, that such abuses are inherent in the dynamics of the solitary confinement situation. South Africa is not the first country, nor will it be the last, to legalise detention without trial and all that that entails. When the rulers of any state perceive the fabric of their society to be under threat, whether the threat be real or imagined, they are likely to respond in a similar way. This is especially so where the problem is one which is not readily amenable to the ordinary processes of law. Thus it was that the British introduced detention without trial into Northern Ireland in a desperate attempt to come to grips with the guerilla warfare of the IRA. Their experience in Northern Ireland may be instructive here.

One group of detainees was arrested on 9 August 1971 and taken to an unnamed detention centre. There they were subjected to what was described as "interrogation in depth", which included solitary confinement, prolonged wall-standing, hooding, exposure to "white noise", deprivation of sleep and poor diet. As a result of this treatment the British army came into possession of a considerable amount of intelligence information which, it alleged, resulted in the saving of many civilian lives. It was this allegation which led to the justification of such techniques, subject to certain limitations against their excessive use, by the Parker Committee which was appointed to investigate the event. A majority of the Committee held that, subject to certain safeguards, "there is no reason to rule out these techniques on moral grounds and that it is possible to operate them in a manner consistent with the highest standards of our society".

For my part, I prefer the dissenting report of Lord Gardiner, who differed sharply with the majority view. He said that:

"If it is to be made legal to employ methods not now legal against a man whom the police believe to have, but who may not have, information which the police desire to obtain, I . . . have searched for, but been unable to find, either in logic or in morals, any limit to the degree of ill-treatment to be legalised. The only logical limit to the degree of ill-treatment to be legalised would appear to be whatever degree of ill-treatment proves to be necessary to get the information out of him, which would include, if necessary, extreme torture. I cannot think that Parliament should, or would, so legislate".

What became of the detainees in this particular instance? According to an independent psychiatrist who examined some of them after their release, three of the men had become psychotic within twenty-four hours of the commencement of the interrogation. Their symptoms included loss of time sense, perceptual disturbance leading to hallucinations, profound apprehension and depression and delusional beliefs. Of the other cases examined by him, almost all suffered from overt psychiatric illness. Anxiety, fear, dread, insomnia, nightmares and startle response were common and almost all of the detainees suffered depression. Some had also developed peptic ulcers which have a strong psychosomatic connection. The British government later paid out sums ranging from £10 000 to £25 000 in out-of-court settlements to all the detainees.

We know too from evidence given in South African security law trials that it is not necessary to apply techniques as brutal as those used in Ulster. Mere solitary confinement can have startling effects on the human personality. In one trial in Pietermaritzburg, an American expert on brainwashing techniques and solitary confinement offered the opinion that solitary confinement in an interrogative environment could, if sufficiently prolonged, result in a detainee saying



anything at all, regardless of its truth or falsity. His wish would be to terminate the interrogation and to do so he would respond to direct, or even unconscious, suggestions from his interrogator. He will tell the interrogator what he thinks the interrogator wants to hear. It may take him some time after his release to realise that he has given false information. This may be an explanation for the phenomenon of detainees repudiating their evidence given under oath in court after they have been released from custody.

This expert, Dr L J West, also told the court of an experiment conducted in the United States involving a simulated prison. All the voluntary participants were screened for physical and psychological suitability and were then divided into two groups — guards and prisoners. The mock prison, in the basement of a university building, included a solitary confinement cell. The experiment was scheduled to last for fourteen days, but was aborted after only six, because the experimenters were profoundly disturbed by the changes that had taken place in the subjects. A number of persons were released before the sixth day for the same reason.

The prisoners developed a "prison mentality" and became preoccupied with the minutiae of prison life. Although they knew that they could withdraw from the experiment at any time, they did not do so but became increasingly passive and depressed. Some even attempted to smuggle notes out of the "prison". A different change was observed in the guards. They became increasingly authoritarian and began to punish the prisoners with increasing severity by withholding "privileges" like toilet visits, and imposing solitary confinement frequently. They seemed disappointed when the experiment was prematurely ended, unlike the remaining prisoners, who were delighted.

A recent correspondent to a Natal newspaper, a retired magistrate, wrote after Neil Aggett's death:

"My first experience of the effects on a human being of detention in solitary confinement occurred many years ago . . . . I sentenced a criminal with a very bad record to a term of imprisonment which included solitary confinement and spare diet on two days of each week for the first six weeks of the sentence. This was the usual punishment in cases of the same kind . . . . At this time it was part of my duties to visit the jail twice weekly and to allow all prisoners an opportunity of voicing any complaints or grievances they might have. During one such visit, after checking the prison records, I found that one prisoner was missing. On inquiry the jailer informed me that he was in his cell undergoing the punishment of solitary confinement which I had imposed on him. I then visited this prisoner in his cell and was shocked to see the state of physical and mental degradation to which he had been reduced after 45 hours of solitary confinement in a dark cell.

I decided then and there never again to impose this

form of punishment. I maintained this attitude towards solitary confinement until I retired because I know it to be a cruel and brutal form of punishment."

But do we need such evidence of the harmful effects of solitary confinement?

As a South African judge observed in a case which involved the withholding of reading matter from certain political prisoners:

"In truth, it does not require medical evidence, one way or the other, to satisfy me that to cut off a well-educated, intelligent prisoner from all news as to what is happening in the outside world for a long period . . . is a very serious psychological and intellectual deprivation indeed".

How much more so when the withholding of sensory stimulation is virtually absolute?

Neil Aggett's death came shortly after the tabling of the report of the Rabie Commission which inquired into our security laws. That report suggests the retention of the system of detention without trial permitted by section 6 of the Terrorism Act, but suggests certain safeguards which, though they may improve the situation, will not eliminate abuses. One reads the report with what Sydney Kentridge has described as "growing astonishment, amounting in the end almost to disbelief", for it makes no attempt to answer the basic questions relating to the condition in which detainees are held. The Commission did not ask, again in Kentridge's words, "How are detainees actually interrogated?

Are they physically or mentally maltreated? Why have more than 40 people died while in detention for interrogation?" This leads Kentridge to dismiss the report as "a scholarly and elaborate irrelevance".

Sooner or later those questions must be answered by the government which now rules us. It is vitally important that we should keep asking them, if only not to allow our government to seek shelter behind a pretence of ignorance of the facts. And as we ask the questions, and look at the facts as we know them, a terrible apprehension begins to grow. We ask ourselves why it is that the Government has sometimes paid substantial sums of money in "ex gratia, out-of-court, without prejudice" payments to the dependents of detainees who have died in detention. In 1971 the widow of the Imam Haron was paid R5 000. In 1979 the widow of Mr Joseph Mdluli was paid R15 000. Also in

1979, the widow and children of Mr Steve Biko were paid R52 000. Why are these amounts paid if the Government denies responsibility for the deaths? Is it possible that in a civil court, where the facts must be proved on balance of probabilities, and not beyond a reasonable doubt as in a criminal trial, the jealously guarded secret might come out? Is it because the Government cannot bear the thought of

a court of law formally proclaiming the awful truth? That the Security Police have caused, directly or indirectly, the deaths of more than forty South Africans? By means of a law sanctioned by Parliament?

Yes, the questions must be answered and we must keep on asking them. We, as South Africans, who must share the burden of guilt if these things are true, have a right to know what is being done in our name and for our alleged protection. ☐

CSO: 4700/1324

## THEBEHALI ATTACK ON MOTLANA REPORTED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 18 May 82 p 3

[Article by Boiki Mothei]

[Text]

**PAMPHLETS** believed to be part of a "smear" campaign against the Soweto Committee of Ten and its chairman, Dr Nthato Motlana, were widely distributed in Soweto yesterday.

The pamphlets, supposed to be an open letter to the editor of a Sunday newspaper, were signed by the chairman of the Soweto Council, Mr David Thebehali.

The pamphlet said Dr Motlana had attempted to answer the question "why blacks do not turn out for political rallies nowadays" when he was interviewed by the newspaper.

The pamphlet said in answer Dr Motlana had replied: "For an organisation like ours you need to show a track record.

"I am afraid to say that we have been faced with the kind of situation where we cannot pinpoint our achievements," the pamphlet quotes.

In the pamphlet Mr Thebehali said this admission was a sign of defeat when it was "compared with the track record of a democratic body like the Soweto Council".

The pamphlet also mentioned that there had been an increase in

medical fees and the council had no record of medical fee increases; that the committee lost a Supreme Court action while the council won its court action.

"The deeds speak for themselves; the track record proves it. People in Soweto are laying the foundation for the future. They leave no time for so-called political rallies that produce nothing but hot air," Mr Thebehali said.

The general secretary

of the SACC, Bishop Desmond Tutu, who has also been the victim of smear campaigns, said he would be surprised if the people who distributed pamphlets against him were not working "hand in glove with Mr Thebehali".

"Some of the pamphlets against Dr Motlana were distributed in my and neighbourhood schools.

"Why are they sent out in the cover of darkness if they aim is not to attack people?

"Perhaps they were distributed at these schools to brainwash our children. If that is so, they must be treated with the contempt they deserve," the bishop said.

An executive member of the Soweto Civic Association, Mr Isaac Mogase, said the pamphlets were an act of "cowdise" and should be disregarded.

ADAPTABILITY OF NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM CLAIMED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 May 82 p 10

[Text]

**UITENHAGE.** — The new constitutional system, proposed by the President's Council, was adaptable enough to cater for the eventual inclusion of Blacks in the democratic process, Mr Ron Miller, Natal leader of the New Republic Party, said here yesterday.

Addressing the Freedom Party's 1982 congress, he said that outright rejection of the Council's recommendations and the facility it offered for negotiation would only serve to promote conflict politics in South Africa.

"The President's Council's recommendations map out an evolutionary process for political reform which will systematically reduce intergroup tensions," he said.

It would re-establish mutual confidence and

dignity among the groups and eliminate the high potential for conflict in southern Africa.

"Outright rejection of the President's Council's recommendations and the facility it offers for negotiation will only serve the interests of those whose objectives are to promote conflict politics, aimed at ultimately forcing South Africa into a Black majority rule situation.

"The system, by virtue of its evolutionary nature, is capable of considerable adaptation, a positive factor for the ultimate inclusion and extension of the democratic process to the Black citizens of South Africa, in addition to the Indian and Coloured members already catered for in the proposals," Mr Miller said. — Sapa.

CSO: 4700/1300

IMPACT OF FALKLANDS CRISIS ON TRADE WITH ARGENTINA ASSESSED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 18 May 82 p 3

[Article by Anton Harber]

[Text]

THE Falkland Islands crisis has not seriously affected South African trade with Argentina.

This was said yesterday by Mr Hennie Wiehahn, chairman of the SA-Latin America Chamber of Economic Relations, a body set up in 1978 to encourage trade with Argentina and other South American countries.

The chamber would encourage SA businessmen to fill any gap left by the British, American and European Economic Community trade embargo of Argentine, he said.

"We will obviously use the links we have to encourage trade and emphasise that we are still open to new opportunities."

"But the reality is that there are severe limitations on the trade we can do with Argentina," Mr Wiehahn said.

Trade with the South American country had been declining for some time before the conflict with Britain began.

This was because of the decline in the Argentinian economy and the international economic slump, he said.

Last year, South Africa exports to Argentina averaged R2,26-million monthly, down from R3,38-million the previous year. Imports averaged R1,1-million.

Argentina is South Africa's second biggest trading partner in South America.

Mr Wiehahn added that there had been no noticeable change in the local businessmen's attitude to dealing with Argentina.

The chamber would be sending a trade mission there in August, he said.

Mr Wiehahn also said trade routes between South African and South America were not affected by the Falklands conflict.

South Africa has, however, gained business in another way from the conflict. It has been reported that at least one British grain importer has switched his business from Argentina to South Africa.

## UNCERTAINTY ABOUT NATION'S FUTURE VOICED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 31 May 82 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text] **THE STATE** of the Republic. A fitting subject for this Republic Day. A holiday marked last year by the controversy over the Republic Festival, a controversy which showed how divided this land of ours still is, despite the great progress it has made since Union, despite the true nationhood achieved in 1961 when South Africa became a Republic.

Yet, with all our problems, we are a country to be reckoned with, a powerhouse in Africa, a land with great resources, mineral rich, determined, dedicated, developing and developed, a country whose strategic importance may yet be acknowledged in the aftermath of the Falklands war.

But though we have many blessings, the year since Republic Day 1981 has been a mixed one.

Terrorist attacks have increased.

Although the townships have been quiet; although the Blacks have been advancing economically with the wage gap between them and other races closing in the Government service and in the economy generally; although there is a greater awareness of the need to improve the quality of life of township dwellers, with improvements in Black education and more to come, it would be wrong to say that tensions no longer exist, that the Blacks are satisfied with their progress, that all are looking forward to peaceful change, that radicalism has not taken further root.

The Black euphoria after the Mugabe victory in neighbouring Zimbabwe, based on a belief that South Africa would also fall into Black hands, has evaporated.

The ruling Afrikaner tribe may be in some

disarray, but the Government still has awesome power.

South Africa would be hard to crack, if it could be cracked at all, by the forces of terrorism.

But that they will try, in more intense degree, goes without saying.

From the White point of view, we are somewhat worse off than we were a year ago, even if some people think in the long-term the future is more hopeful.

The Afrikaner volk has split between those for and those against reform; between those who want to share power "healthily" and those who do not want to share power at all.

Reformists cheer the split, seeing in it the opportunity for meaningful, if radical, change.

However, the build-up on the Right is now assuming proportions that spell trouble not just for the Government, but for the country as a whole, since reform is dividing the volk and the Whites radically at a time when unity is essential as our enemies are now at our gates.

In the circumstances, reform which is acceptable to the volk would be better than reform which a great part of the volk opposes.

Indeed, opposition to the present plans might be such that the Government might hesitate to introduce reforms for fear of the consequences.

Republic Day 1982 thus sees the volk divided and the rest of the Whites bemused, bothered and bewildered, unsure of what is happening — and why — and where it will all lead.

We have other problems, like a questioning of the desirability of fighting a bor-

der war if, in the end, South West Africa goes to Swapo in any case (a questioning this newspaper does not share, since we believe the war has to be fought until a fair settlement is achieved).

We celebrate Republic Day also under the shadow of the Argentine arms controversy. Though we have every right to tell the British to go to hell, rather than satisfy them that we are not selling arms to Argentina, the British will not forgive us if we assist their enemy in time of war.

Republic Day 1982 is also being celebrated at a time when the Government is introducing new laws that restrict the Press and when the security laws, with a few improvements, have been reintroduced in new measures that are as tough as ever.

All in all, we'd say Republic Day shows the country under pressure, more divided (owing to the Afrikaner split) and more uncertain about the future.

We hope that by Republic Day 1983, we will not only know where we have been, but where we are actually going (or are being led).

CSO: 4700/1328



SPY-EXCHANGE COUP RESTORES NIS STATUS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 May 82 p 2

[Article by Tony Stirling]

[Text] The National Intelligence Service coup in bringing about the exchange of Russian spy Major Alexei Koslov for eight Western intelligence agents and Sapper Johan van der Mescht has done much to restore its credibility and obviate plots for its possible absorption by Military Intelligence (DMI).

After a series of defections and blunders dating back to the involvement of General Hendrik van den Bergh in the Information scandal, the announcement by the Prime Minister to Parliament of the exchange came at a time when the NIS was under increasing pressure from its sister services, the DMI and the Security Police.

In Pretoria there had been open talk of the possible absorption of the NIS by the DMI. This in turn fanned rumours that the head of the NIS, Dr Lukas Niel Barnard was about to step down.

But the Kudos heaped on NIS after the exchange negotiations with the Russian KGB will make it difficult for the other security services to continue criticising NIS.

Mr P.W. Botha himself, in announcing details of the exchange in the House, called for an end to rumours involving the security services.

From the start of the Premiership of Mr Botha, NIS has been in an uncomfortable position.

There had been long-standing enmity between Mr Botha and the former Secretary for National Security, General van den Bergh, which could in no way have been assisted by the role played in the information affair by the general and the BOSS accountant, Mr Louw Reynders.

Then followed the embarrassing defections of agents Arthur McGiven and Gordon Winter.

Recently the criticism of NIS has centred around the fact that its base had become devoted almost exclusively to academic evaluation of overt intelligence from printed sources to the exclusion of intelligence gathering in the field by agents.

It became apparent that the other arm of security, the Security Police, who because of their investigative nature and wide informer system hold an unassailable position in internal intelligence gathering were doing what they could do help the DMI in the struggle.

The rivalry between the different arms of intelligence in South Africa has always been present, but never to the degree that has emerged in the past six months.

This state of affairs persisted right up until the time of Mr Botha's announcement to Parliament on Tuesday.

Security sources agreed with the assessment that the exchange was a major coup for NIS.

CSO: 4700/1298

USE OF RACIAL INCIDENTS TO SABOTAGE MULTIRACIAL SPORT CLAIMED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 May 82 p 15

[Article by Sheryl Raine]

[Text] Ugly racial incidents on Transvaal school sports fields recently were part of a deliberate plan to sabotage mixed sport, says a leading educationist.

Mr Jack Ballard, General Secretary of the Transvaal Teachers' Association said yesterday that certain Afrikaans schools had made a "very determined effort to exclude the possibility of black pupils being involved in mixed sport."

He also believed unpleasant scenes on school playing fields had been used to embarrass the Botha Government.

Pawns

Examining recent events it appears that new measures introduced by the Transvaal Education Department to keep much of the province's sport exclusively white are inextricably linked to the larger political battle being waged within the National Party and between the NP and the Conservative Party led by Dr Andries Treurnicht.

School pupils appear to be the pawns in a game of manipulation.

Unprecedented

The furore on the sports fields has involved a number of unfortunate incidents in which black pupils attending white private schools have been shown just how unwelcome they are in the world of white South African sport.

Some of the incidents are:

--A walk-off by members of the Afrikaans Hoerskool Waterkloof rugby team before a match with Mount Edward Christian Brothers because two black players were in the Mount Edward team.

--Cancellation of an inter-school cross-country race in Johannesburg last weekend because two black runners from St Martins School withdrew.

In an unprecedented move the Transvaal Education Department intervened to form two separate sports leagues--one for all-white teams, the other for mixed teams drawn mostly from private schools.

It is believed that certain Afrikaans schools, the powerful Afrikaans Transvaalse Onderwysvereniging and the TED collaborated to implement the current sports policy and events leading up to its implementation seem to support this theory.

#### Surprise

In October last year the TO canvassed the opinions of its membership concerning mixed sport. According to Mr Ballard, certain Afrikaans schools enlisted the support of the TED.

Before the year was over, new sport regulations were in force and when the TED announced its new policy Afrikaans schools switched to the new system without a hitch.

The announcement came as a surprise to the Transvaal Teachers Association which believed the matter was still under discussion.

"It appears to me that the Afrikaans schools were anticipating the new regulations before they were actually adopted," said Mr Ballard.

#### Reverberated

Although the TED has claimed that the new system is more democratic and allows for freedom of choice, most private schools with black pupils have in reality, no choice but to belong to their own separate league.

Some private schools in predominantly Afrikaans areas will find themselves in a league on their own.

Officially the matter of which leagues will be able to compete for the cherished Administrator Cup has not been decided. But many English-speaking educators predict that only the all-white league will get a crack at winning the cup.

In yet another development the school sports issue has reverberated in other parts of the country.

Since the TED revised its sports policy the Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysbond which represents all Afrikaans-speaking white teachers' organisations has recommended to its members that a special whites-only sports league system be set up nationwide.

The Cape, Orange Free State and Natal had rules much the same as those of the Transvaal before the TED's latest ruling. All sports decisions in the other three provinces are made by individual school principals together with parent bodies.

Schools with mixed teams usually let all-white sides know that black pupils will be participating in a match and teams have the option to withdraw.

"Teachers and their organisations don't really come into the picture," said Dr G. Hertzog, Director of Education in Natal.

Mr H.A. Lambrechts, Director of Education in the Cape, said his department had not been approached by any organisation to change the rules.

In the Orange Free State where the potential for racial friction is not as high as in the other provinces there has been no unpleasantness, said the Director of Education Mr A.L.J. du Toit.

Prof H. Maree of the Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging did not return The Star's call. Questions submitted in writing to the TED have not yet been answered.

CSO: 4700/1298

BLACKS URGED TO RECOGNIZE ROLE OF WHITES

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English May 82 p 26

[Article by Dr Willem De Klerk: "It's No Use Trying To Hamstring the Whites"]

[Text]

**I**T is true that the black man's contribution has received too little — far too little — credit or recognition. Acknowledgement of black energy expended in building South Africa revolves not only around the wages paid for his labours, but also around the status his labour should accord him. The status he deserves is, surely, that of a co-founder of just about everything that has been established in South Africa to date. It is a status deserving of recognition in his wage negotiations, in the trade unions he belongs to, in his participation in community affairs and in his contributions to independent self-government.

The South Africa of the future will have to fix the status of its black component in all structures involving black responsibility and black co-responsibility.

**B**ut what about the capital and initiative of the white man?

This remains a real and ongoing requirement. It would be a sad and radical mistake if the black people of this country should decide to reject the current and future contributions of the white section, or if they should elect to invert the discrimination which the blacks themselves have been subjected to.

I mention this because it seems to be the fashion in some black circles — notably among intellectuals, politicians, labourites, the middle classes — to brood about a system which would either exclude the white man or leave him severely hamstrung.

The black community may find it an

irritation to be reminded of the lessons taught by the rest of Africa, particularly if the reminder comes from a white.

But they should remember Zimbabwe, and they should take note of the retrogressive process that seem to have taken hold in that country.

They should remember that Africa now contains 20 of the world's 31 most backward countries.

They must be reminded of the fact that food production in Africa is rapidly falling, often because the economic aid programmes in countries are hampered by bad administration and poor follow-through.

Black people should take the trouble to find out for themselves, overseas, why so many international businessmen hold their heads in despair because their investments in Africa fail to prosper.

Much of what is wrong in Africa can be billed to the early colonials, but Africa must be prepared to accept a major part of the blame.

It needs hardly be stressed that the ability to govern has not been highly developed in most of Africa, perhaps because governments tend to degenerate into more political power movements.

Productivity, initiative, sustained purpose and enterprise in most African countries fall far short of the required norm.

No, I am not trying to be either insulting or paternalistic. Neither am I raking up old issues. I am looking at current events on the continent around us.

The reason for my statement is to warn all of us living in this country not to

lose our sober perspective of the realities of this continent.

It is a perspective calling for the acknowledgement and confirmation of another axiom — that Africa cannot prosper unless it is developed in close partnership between white and black.

The black man rejecting partnership is courting disaster and the white man negating partnership is asking to be submerged or destroyed.

Black people, their leaders specifically, should not hesitate to point out that the South African approach to development aid, for example, has achieved more in our part of the world than similar schemes in virtually all of the rest of Africa. For their own survival, black people should cultivate a greater awareness of the urgent need of active partnership with the whites of South Africa.

Conversely, the white man should realise that his very salvation depends on such a partnership. The country's economy, its standards of living, its peace and its prosperity will be determined by the depth of white leadership, the scope and intensity of black education and training programmes and by the extent to which we add to the black man's self respect. Training and raising the quality of life for all offer the road to full partnership.

**O**n our side we must strive to disprove the black experience of whites in Africa. We must prove our dependability as a partner without resorting to colonial attitudes so typical of the classic colonial mentality.

On the other hand, blacks must counter the white experience of blacks in Africa and they must show resistance to the racist hatred which has consumed so many people elsewhere in Africa.

All this may sound like old fashioned idealism, or perhaps like a moralistic appeal. Some may read into it signs of white panic, others may sense a concealed white arrogance. I choose to regard the general sentiment in this article as one of levelheaded commonsense.

If we fail to make a success of partnership we will, without any doubt, be overwhelmed by a revolution that will devour and subjugate black and white alike. In that event we will be left with no option but to start right from the beginning under a new, Marxist, colonial rule.

## PROGRESS, AIMS OF BLACK UNIONS EXAMINED

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English May 82 pp 22-25

[Article by John Kane-Berman: "No Such Thing As Certain Victory"]

[Text]

IN a landscape strewn with defeat, the rise of the trade unions is one of the great success stories of black South Africa. More the pity then that it is so often trivialised by reporters who pay attention only to charismatic leadership and radical rhetoric and ignore the mundane details that are the real ingredients of success.

Good copy and effective trade unionism are not always the same thing. Trade unionism is now a going concern among Blacks precisely because it is based not on celebrity figures anointed by printers' ink but on a sustained struggle fought by tens of thousands of ordinary men and women. To focus only on the glamour of clenched fists does them no justice. Clenched fists are two-a-penny in South Africa these days. The important question that is too seldom asked, however, is whether these tips always have icebergs underneath them.

The battle against apartheid, in the workplace as elsewhere, is immeasurably more difficult than it often seems. If the unions are now winning a segment of that battle, they are doing so not by protest politics in front of television cameras, but by sheer organisational grind, discipline and restraint, and careful planning. In other words, robust Realpolitik — a rare commodity in radical politics in South Africa. And defeat is part of the story, as well as victory.

For the unions there has been no such thing as "victory is certain". They made mistakes and false starts, plenty of them. The more experienced among the union officials are tough operators who have learnt to survive in a marketplace whose

rules were drawn up by their opponents and whose main law is that of the survival of the fittest. They plan tactics and plot strategy, and their concern is less the luxury of washing their hands of "The System" than figuring out how to beat it or at least squeeze out of it everything they can for the benefit of their members.

Strikes — there were 100 in 1979, 207 in 1980, and at least 270 last year — are once again big news in South Africa after the lull that followed the Durban strikes. Strikes employed to demonstrate union support on the factory floor are a common, and sometimes successful, tactic. As Roux van der Merwe, who holds the Volkswagen Chair of Industrial Relations at the University of Port Elizabeth, sums it up: "If a union seeks recognition and is then rebuffed, it organises and waits for an issue. Then it pulls everyone out and says to the employers, 'Now do you believe we represent your workers?'"

The Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), which is the larger of the two groupings of independent unions, claims in its report for 1981 to have "won" 53 of the 90 strikes in factories organised by Fosatu unions.

Striking is always something of a gamble, however. It involves not only organisation and commitment, but also psychology. Each side needs to assess the other's willingness to maintain a confrontation and ability to hold out. Sometimes the workers lose, quickly and badly. One example is the strike by black municipal workers in Johannesburg in 1980, a brave expression of determination but one



which nevertheless ended in a crushing defeat for the workers and the effective destruction of their union.

John Copelyn of the National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW), third largest of the ten affiliates of Fosatu, points out that it is very difficult to get a union going again after it has collapsed in the wake of an unsuccessful strike. Freddie Sauls of the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union, also in the Fosatu fold, is facing precisely this problem: "We were hit to pieces at Dorbyl," he says, referring to a strike over a pay demand which resulted in the mass dismissal of the strikers. "The company would not negotiate and we had no finance to keep the guys going. We are re-organising now."

Union officials often counsel against strikes, sometimes to no avail. When a walkout hit the Leyland plant near Cape Town in May last year, they warned of the high risk of mass dismissal. Says Joe Foster, who runs the local branch of Sauls' union: "We gently tried to persuade the men back to work, but feeling among them was so strong that they said, 'To hell with it, we stay out'. So we said, 'OK, if that's your decision, we stand together'. We could not go against the membership and tell them what to do."

Foster, who is also acting general secretary of Fosatu, continues: "Workers are realising that the power they have could achieve something, if used judiciously. The strike weapon is the nuclear weapon that labour has. But with the knocks workers are getting now when it's badly used, we fear demoralisation through too many defeats. Bail has gone up and people are being charged for striking illegally. Workers will get cold feet if strikers start going to jail. We can't say there must be no more strikes, but we can't just strike on any nonsense. We must rather select the time."

**S**ome of the unions regarded in some circles as more militant than the Fosatu unions are also wary of strikes, among them the Motor Assemblers' and Components Workers' Union (MACWUSA) in Port Elizabeth. One of its officials, Government Zini, says his union prefers to negotiate without having to resort to strikes. "Workers do suffer during strikes," he points out.

Though the past year or two has seen the first couple of secondary strikes — i.e. workers downing tools in one factory in

support of strikers in another — South Africa has not yet experienced an industry-wide black strike. Some unionists believe that an industrial strike, particularly if it occurred in a strategic industry like railways, would probably provoke a ferocious clampdown by the state.

If striking is a two-edged sword for unions, the common management counter-measure of mass dismissal of all the strikers can also work both ways. Ollie Rademeyer, industrial relations manager of Volkswagen in Uitenhage, says some people thought his company was being soft because it didn't fire all Sauls' members there when they downed tools for three weeks in 1980. But he explains: "Where would we have got replacements from except by trying to poach from Ford and General Motors? The labour pool here with the skills we need is very small. We would probably have been forced to hire back (all the dismissed strikers) or go out of business. One company I know is still suffering a year after a mass firing."

As it is, VW has never been able to make up the sale of 4 000 cars it lost to other companies as a result of the strike.

**I**n companies where black workers are still largely in unskilled jobs, firing is less risky. One employer in East London confided that he was contemplating mass dismissal and re-hiring minus the "agitators" as a means of trying to break the influence of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) in his factory. "We couldn't afford to fire before Christmas, because demand for our products is heaviest then. But it slackens off after that and we would be able to bring in imports as substitutes anyway. Many of our operations are very simple, and the skilled work can be contracted out. We would like to have a trial of strength at the right time. We know what SAAWU is planning because we have informer chappies in the union who tell us."

Saawu, youngest of the major independent unions and biggest in East London, has been the No. 1 target among unions for security police action over the past year or more (Macwusa has been target No. 2). With unemployment especially high in economically depressed East London and the neighbouring Ciskei, Saawu is finding scabbing a particularly

serious problem when its members are fired en masse for striking. Says Saawu's Thozamile Gqweta: "We have formed an Unemployed Workers' Union to educate the unemployed to pledge solidarity with dismissed workers and refuse to be scabs. Nobody must go for a job. The boss must meet the demands of his workers first."

What has happened in the Frame group is an excellent example of the changes that the unions have forced upon South African industry. The group's wage levels earned it national notoriety during the Durban strikes, and when it came to being tough with unions, few employers took second place.

But hard-nosed as the Frame bosses are, they now find themselves sitting at the negotiating table with the textile union — and both sides no doubt pinch themselves from time to time to check whether the scene is real or not. Frame, thanks to the textile union's constant pressures — including strikes — is now one of the better-paying employers in the industry. Says an NUTW official: "After our strike in May, Frame wages went up, and we now want Frame wage-levels imposed elsewhere."

If hard organisational grind has been indispensable to squeezing recognition out of government and employers alike, the fact that the post-Wiehahn legislation has put black unions on the official map has made their job easier. Unionists report that workers are much less fearful of joining unions now than when they had no official status and victimisation by management was more common. The fact that unions have won material benefits for their members has also facilitated recruitment. For some unions, the days of crack-of-dawn recruiting at the factory gates are becoming a relic of the past: now the workers go to the unions, not the unions to the workers.

Shop stewards are in fact a vital aspect of many of the independent unions — to the extent that even long-established white trade unions are now thinking they might learn a thing or two from the new black unions.

### **The whites take a leaf from the book**

**T**he general meetings of ordinary

members from particular factories enable the shop stewards to be held accountable. "If a shop steward is not doing his job he can, and does, get slammed by the workers," a leading union man says.

White unionists, privileged through pigmentation and always able to run to the government to protect their jobs against blacks, have long ago forgotten how to organise grassroots strength to do battle against management (Arrie Paulus of the Mine Workers' Union is one of the few exceptions). Black unions have had to battle every inch of the way, however, which has necessitated their building up strength on the factory floor. Fosatu unions now have more than 1 500 shop stewards, and Cusa unions 456. Other unions, notably the General Workers' Union, work through factory committees.

So successful have some shop stewards become in dealing with workers' complaints that six members of a white union at Volkswagen recently applied to join the black union after its shop stewards sorted out a complaint the white shop steward had been unable to resolve. The white union is now taking a leaf out of the black unions' book and will run a course to train shop stewards to bargain more effectively.

Though black unions now have the right to seek official registration, most of them regard recognition at company level by the individual employers as equally important, if not more so. "We make a strong attempt to ensure worker leadership," says General Workers' Dave Lewis. "We want to enforce the notion that committees of workers must negotiate, not union bureaucrats. There is no way you can substitute for the man on the shop floor. We have a very strict policy of not meeting the bosses at union level unless workers are present."

**M**ost industrial bargaining in South Africa is done through councils covering entire industries in a particular region or even in the country as a whole. Though unions have equal representation with employers on the councils, the structure is bureaucratic and remote from the factory floor. Most of the independent unions therefore are now insisting on the right to negotiate at individual factory or company level.

"When we have organised in a particular factory, union officials approach

the company for talks," explains the general secretary of Cusa, Phiroshaw Camay. "Most companies now have an open-door approach to black unions, so they do talk. We try to prove that we speak for at least 50 per cent of the factory (if necessary, auditors can be called in to verify our membership lists against company personnel records) and the next step is for management to agree that members of the union's elected factory committee can be present at all subsequent meetings." The Fosatu-affiliated Chemical Workers' Industrial Union indeed threatened a strike against Colgate-Palmolive in support of its demand to be able to negotiate wages at factory level rather than only through the industrial council for the chemical industry, and in the face of this threat and a boycott of Colgate products that had already been set in motion, the company capitulated.

The industrial council system has for decades been the sacred cow of industrial relations in South Africa, but Fosatu is now claiming to have "put the skids" under it. "Industrial councils are the next big issue," one leading labour relations man says, conceding that if the black unions refuse to go into the system, his company might consider withdrawing. "If this happens," he says, "it could precipitate the break-up of the system all over the country."

The remark is typical of the pragmatic approach that a growing, though still small, number of companies is adopting. Though it is sometimes believed that foreign-owned companies are more advanced in meeting black unions' demands, at least one leading man in Fosatu says South African companies are moving into the lead.

### Unionists are invited for tea

**C**ompanies which a year ago would have summoned the police the moment there was a smell of a union in their factories are now inviting unionists in for tea.

Though several unionists are willing to give management credit for being more conciliatory than in the past, they also suspect that invitations to talk are sometimes a case of "come into my parlour, said the spider to the fly".

Says one: "They like to tie us up be-

fore we have really got organised strength in the factory." Fosatu claims to have won an "avalanche of concessions" in the form of recognition agreements embodying shop stewards' rights at factory level, but warns that the second half of 1981 saw a "decided hardening of management attitudes". This was reflected in attempts to use recognition agreements to secure voluntary restrictions on union rights and/or union endorsement of management prerogatives. Fosatu says that its policy is that it is better to reach no agreement at all than to allow such restrictions (e.g. union undertakings to press strikers to return to work) to be written into agreements.

Two years ago, fewer than half a dozen companies had signed recognition agreements with black unions. The number of agreements already signed or being negotiated is now probably in the region of 200.

Strictly speaking, it is a misnomer to talk of "black" unions, even though that word has been used here in the wider sense to refer to Indians and "Coloureds" as well as Africans. Cusa as a matter of policy confines membership to this broad category of blacks, a veteran Cusa man pointing out that when workers come into the union offices they want to be sure that they won't find whites in charge. On the other hand, Fosatu and most of the other independent unions are open to whites. A handful of whites played an important role in the post-1970s union revival and some of the non-racial unions still employ whites as organisers. This has provoked criticism from certain black groups, which argue that it means white domination.

**C**ounters one of the white officials: "The members of this union are profoundly non-racist. They tend to identify their enemy as a class of bosses rather than as a race. And they resent the charge that they are dominated by whites because they feel they are in control themselves. They would hate to hear me say this, but in a sense they have made me an honorary black."

Of course, there is not an employer in South Africa who isn't wondering when growing union power will spill over into the political field. No doubt some people would like to see the unions pushed in this direction. Sometimes they

cannot avoid it. Says Sisa Njikelana of Saawu: "We are accused of being political. What do you expect if people don't have political parties? We claim we are non-political, but when there is a political stumbling-block we deal with it — as, for example, we were compelled to respond to harassment by the Ciskei government, since it affected us as workers and jeopardised our life as an independent organisation."

Many people in the independent unions are well aware of the risks attached to direct political activity. One points out that when several trade unionists were recently detained, officials of one of the affected unions tried to organise a protest march, but it failed, apparently because the rank and file were not prepared to "take the struggle in that direction".

Another explains why his members failed to respond to leaflets issued by the ANC calling for a three-day strike at the time of the official Republic Day celebrations in May last year: "If people feel that something affects them directly, they might be prepared to stay away. But it was not clear to them what the leaflets meant. They also want to see their leaders in person, and they could not identify these leaflets with anyone they could see."

The very fact that black people have begun to gain power for themselves in the factories has open-ended political implications. But it is probably premature to assume that politics is on the agenda for independent unions in the short term. "We don't have the strength for politics," says one official. Others fear the rank and file may push unions in a political direction: "We can't say we don't want to get involved in these issues, but we may not be in control of timing. Our members could push us into embarrassing situations, whereas we believe we must push in areas where we can win." ●

CSO: 4700/1325

COLUMNIST DISCUSSES NATS 'TOTAL ONSLAUGHT' FAILURE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 May 82 p 24

[Article by Nimrod Mkele: "Failure of the 'Total Onslaught' by Nats"]

[Text] There may appear to be no connection between the stoning of Sebe at a Fort Hare graduation ceremony two weeks back, the inevitable consequential shooting and arrest of black students and Premier P.W. Botha's "total onslaught." But there is.

When much to their surprise and Smuts's shock (he lost his seat), the Nats found themselves in power in 1948--34 years ago almost to the day--they had their blueprint for South Africa. Their inspiration was Hitler and their programme National Socialism.

Their aim, as they spelled it out, was the creation of a 1000-year Nat dictatorship. To achieve this, they devised a total strategy consisting of a three-pronged assault against the freedoms and liberties of the people of South Africa.

First, they dismantled all semblances of democracy in South Africa until we have reached the sorry state that all South Africans today are creatures of official discretion. To be sure, they have utilised a racially discriminatory electoral system, but only so long as it suited their ends.

Second, they set about systematically destroying all opposition to apartheid. They locked up the opposition, "named" them communists, banned, banished and exiled them.

By the time Sharpeville came in 1961, the opposition was in disarray. That tragedy

marked the end of an era -- the era of the politics of "statesmanship" on the part of the blacks.

It was to be 10 long years before opposition to apartheid reared its head again, and from a most unlikely source if the hard work the Nats had put into the third prong of their total strategy was to mean anything at all.

For the third prong of that total strategy, was the education of the black man for servitude. As Verwoerd put it, natives were not to be educated above certain forms of labour. He also made it clear that the Nats had no intention of educating black people for equality with whites.

Amid nationwide protests Bantu education was launched. The numbers of school-going pupils increased without a corresponding increase in the quality of schooling. Syllabuses

were changed to conform with the dictates of the grand design -- which is what the total strategy had been called -- of apartheid.

Bush universities, and ethnic to boot, were sited in the most unlikely places. But it was here that the new opposition to apartheid was to emerge -- in the one place where the Nats hoped they had dragooned the minds of black students into an acceptance of the tenets of apartheid.

It was here that the Black Consciousness movement took root. For a quarter of a century (from 1955) a generation of black students had grown up having it drummed into their heads to go black. They did. And the Nats did not like that one bit.

The student opposition to apartheid extended to the surrogates of apartheid, which explains the stoning of

the Sebes and Gatshas at these bush universities. They, along with these institutions, are seen as instruments of apartheid.

Strangely enough it was not even the university students who underlined the failure of apartheid's total strategy. It was June 16 1976. That day black high school and primary school children took to the streets and heralded a new era of armed struggle against apartheid.

Those young people out there in the training camps in foreign lands represent the failure of the total onslaught of the Nats against South Africa. And it is with them, our future, that apartheid must come to terms.

★ ★ ★

Congratulations to Don Mattera on the lifting of his banning orders. Now he is just like us -- less unfree.

ILLUMINATION OF LIMPOPO BORDER AREA REPORTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 5 May 82 p 1

[Article by Jaap Boekkooi]

[Text] The Government is erecting an "arc of light" along the Limpopo River at a cost of millions to reverse the depopulation trend in Transvaal border areas.

The first part of the scheme which will light up the banks of the Limpopo along a stretch 80 km west of Messina, was symbolically switched on by the Minister of Manpower and MP for Soutpansberg, Mr Fanie Botha this week.

The power, installed by Escom with a high priority, 150 km line being completed in the record time of nine months, enables new farmers to clear the thickets along the southern bank and run irrigation farms at a cost up to 65 percent lower than that of using diesel power.

Thick bush is being cleared behind the military security fence and patrol road along the river, apparently to establish a barrier against possible future guerilla incursions.

Next on the list are new power reticulation and farm settlement schemes further west and south along the river, notably around Alldays and Ellisras which will eventually light up the entire northern border including the Limpopo banks east of Messina.

The Department of Agricultural Credit is helping to finance farmers such as former Zimbabweans who have become penniless to the area to pioneer irrigation projects.

Mr Botha said the scheme had been established for economic-strategic reasons and was the forerunner of the entire development of Transvaal border areas.

CSO: 4700/1298

# SADF 'RECCE' MEN RECRUITED FOR COUP ATTEMPT IN SEYCHELLES

## Monetta's Testimony

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 May 82 p 5

[Article by Tim Clarke]

[Text]

THE second-in-command of the abortive coup in the Seychelles last year, Johannesburg actor Tulio Monetta, told the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court yesterday afternoon it was planned that the majority of the men selected to go on the expedition would come from South African Defence Force recce units.

Mr Monetta also told the court how he went to the Seychelles in September, 1981, on a secret mission to meet members of the resistance movement there and also to reconnoitre the island, looking particularly for targets to be seized in a coup to topple the Government of Mr Albert Rene.

### Evidence

Mr Monetta, who was giving evidence before the Acting Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice Nevil James, at the trial of 43 men facing charges under the Civil Aviation Offences Act, told of several meetings with Colonel Mike Hoare, who led the

abortive coup in the Seychelles in November last year.

Mr Monetta said that the first inkling he had that there was something on the go was when a former mercenary, George Schroeder, contacted him in Johannesburg in 1978 and said that the Manxham Government, then in exile, wanted to return to the Seychelles.

He later had a meeting with Schroeder, also a mercenary in the Congo with Col Hoare and himself.

Schroeder told him that an American ship would probably dock at Diego Garcia, also an island in the Indian Ocean, to take the mercenaries onto the Seychelles.

Mr Monetta said that Schroeder was very vague about plans and they arranged to meet again later.

He phoned Col Hoare and mentioned briefly what had happened between himself and Schroeder. He told the court he had a lot of faith in Col Hoare who had been his commander in the Belgian Congo.

### Meeting

Another meeting was held with Schroeder and two of the accused in the Pietermaritzburg hijack trial, Kurt Priefert and Tir Dunlop-Paul.

They accompanied him to the meeting held at the Rand International Hotel.

He said at this meeting Schroeder was "evasive" and they gained little information from the gathering.

He again reported to Col Hoare.

In July, or August, he met Col Hoare at the Balalaika Hotel in Sandton, Johannesburg.

Col Hoare told him that he had been engaged in an operation to topple the Rene Government in the Seychelles since 1978. Col Hoare told him that he had been in touch with various leaders of the Seychelles Resistance Movement who were then living in many parts of the world, including, Tanzania.



## Knew

Monetta said he had been to the island and knew them. Col Hoare produced a map of the Seychelles and pointed out various targets, like the barracks of the local garrison which would have to be overrun.

Col Hoare also discussed briefly the strength of the local forces on the island and said that in his opinion those forces would not be able to withstand a seaborne attack.

Monetta said he told Col Hoare he was interested if proved the operation had the backing of the South African Government.

Also at this meeting

Col Hoare revealed that a United States Congressman, who was a neighbour of General Alexander Haig, supported the operation.

Col Hoare also discussed the acquisition of arms which should be of communist origin.

Hoare also said that he envisaged that an advance party of between 20 and 30 men and a main group of 100

men should attack the islands.

Monetta said he was not happy with this because to raise 100 men in South Africa would be "a risky operation." With large numbers of men the plan would possibly leak out to the Press.

## Visit

Later he received another telephone call from Col Hoare. Hoare said that he wanted Monetta to visit the Seychelles as a tourist to meet the resistance movement there and to look at certain targets.

They met again on September 10 at the Holiday Inns in Johannesburg.

He and Col Hoare flew out on the same aircraft although they had no contact on the plane and Col Hoare had warned him not to call him Col Hoare, but "Tom".

At the meeting at the Holiday Inns, Col Hoare said they would meet a Zimbabwe Air Force pilot on the island who would assist them in the operation.

Monetta said they landed at Mahe' Airport and he was introduced to Major Dudley Coventry, of the Zimbabwe Air Force. Maj Coventry knew the island as he had done a lot of fishing there.

Monetta was introduced to members of the resistance movement. He asked the court that they should not be named and Mr Justice James agreed.

Monetta then described how he hired a car and started touring the islands.

He found out that Pres Rene' was guarded by an elite unit of 30 troops and that the home where they lived, above State House, had anti-aircraft guns surrounding it, a perimeter of tanks, a high fence and a spotlight which was switched on every night.

He said he visited the Tanzanian barracks on the south of the island. He discovered that there were about 50 soldiers at the barracks.

"I was playing the role of James Bond collecting as much infor-

mation as possible for a forthcoming mission."

He obtained a map of State House, inspected the cable and wireless station and found out that the local Russian embassy staff had about 105 members.

He was also able to smuggle out certain documents necessary for the forthcoming mission.

He was then invited to Col Hoare's home at Hilton Road, Natal, when he returned from the Seychelles.

There he saw weapons in Col Hoare's cellar: AK47 rifles, RPG rocket launchers and ammunition.

Then later that month, had a meeting at the Kyalami Ranch between Johannesburg and Pretoria. At the meeting were Dunlop-Paul, Kurt Priefert, Pieter Doorebard and an officer, Major Walls of the SA Defence Force.

At the meeting they discussed recruiting members of the recte unit to go on the mission.

The trial will resume again on Tuesday.

## Paradoxes of Government Policy

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 17 May 82 p 2

[Article by Paul Moorcraft: "Sitting in the Middle"]

[Text]

It is recounted that a South African once asked a Zambian who was dressed as an Admiral of the Fleet: "How come Zambia has an admiral when it hasn't got a navy?" "For the same reason you have a Minister of Justice," replied the Zambian.

All the injustices (or accidents) — the flying lessons from John Vorster Square, the call for secret trials, the tragic deaths of Aggett

and Biko — stem from the paradoxes of government policy. The true Security Police inquisitor is a creature of policy, not (usually) a man of blood by taste. He believes he is doing his duty, what his superiors, legally the government, tell him to do.

Presumably the Recce Commandos allegedly involved in the Seychelles fiasco feel the same. Logically, defending the fatherland by attacking Seychel-



LOTS is no different from walloping Swapo in another foreign country, Angola.

It was the same with Muldergate. Rhoodie, Mulder and Vorster felt they were doing their best for South Africa.

Realpolitik (what the Americans call "dirty tricks"), a vital component of statecraft, was halted because of legal action.

Legalism is part and parcel of democracy. Because of deep-rooted egalitarianism in Afrikanerdom, South Africa aspires to be a democracy with full freedom for the Press

and judiciary. But it cannot evolve as a majoritarian democracy — a so-called "part of the West" — if it wants to survive.

On the contrary, South Africa may be driven towards dictatorship. No Biko investigations or trials for gutsy, albeit failed, military adventurers. More freedoms will evaporate.

Ah, you will say, we have just had a major

dose of reform proposals from the President's Council; things do not seem to be getting worse.

Yet the government is caught in the middle again. The new constitution is highly complex and ambiguous. (A good constitution is a simple one and Britain, the mother of democracy, has no formal constitution.)

The new proposals imply a concentration of white power (the super Gaullist presidency) while the inclusion of Indians and

coloured people implies a dilution of white autocracy. It could all mean big government to bash the right wing to secure enough reform to allow coloured and Indian conscription in the war effort to in turn smash the ANC and Swapo; sufficient change to set up a lot of skull-bashing.

And recall Barry Goldwater's comment: "A government that is big enough to give you all you want is big enough to take it all

away."

The new dispensation, even if it is implemented, could hasten the growing polarisation: between advancing socialism and galloping reaction. A limited franchise for coloured people will propel the Conservative Party — particularly some of its crinkly-headed members — into apoplectic fits. The CP will scoop up more of the Afrikaner working class; for, after all, racism is the snobbery of the poor. Again the

National Party will be stuck in the centre, this time in a white class struggle.

Their prophecies fulfilled, the marxists will rub their hands with glee and continue to argue that the NP's half-hearted venture to create a black middle class as a bulwark against revolution will fail. It is the middle class who usually instigate and lead revolutions.

Like Russia before 1914, South Africa is trapped between reform and reaction.

Finely balanced in a violent equilibrium between poor and middle classes, both black and white, the NP promises controlled change to prevent a long war. After repression, the hope of change, especially if unfulfilled (as the escalating expectations of blacks are bound to be), is often the trigger of revolution. This is the theme of André Brink's new novel, "A Chain of Voices."

The dangling NP, facing a modern-day version of Brink's slave revolt of the 1820s, could swing back to repression. Damn the Bikos, bring on the secret trials and free our Recce lads. Pretoria's De Gaulle could tough it out with Draconian laws, Smith-type ones that Mugabe now bounces back at the whites.

Today there is hope for change; a most dangerous time. The NP is riding in the middle of the road, the most likely place to cause a collision.

## DANGERS OF CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES NOTED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 14 May 82 p 9

[Article by Robert Schrire]

[Text]

THE first report of the President's Council constitutional committee has now been released and key decisions will soon be made which will significantly shape our political future. It is vital therefore for an informed public to discuss and debate the important issues raised by the proposals.

The proposals themselves are deceptively simple. They are based on the assumption that the interests of the whites, coloured people and Indians can best be reconciled in a "consociational system" where ethnic elites co-operate on the basis of separate ethnic communities. The black population is to be totally excluded from participating in the system "under current and foreseeable circumstances". The proposals recommend:

(1) The creation of an executive president elected by the present (white) House of Assembly who would serve a seven-year term. Future presidents would be indirectly elected by an electoral college composed of white, coloured and Asian legislators on a basis still to be determined.

(2) The powers of the president would include:

(a) The right to appoint and dismiss the premier and cabinet. These appointments could be made from among the white, coloured and Indian groups;

(b) The initiation of legislative proposals;

(c) The right to call referenda;

(d) The right to dissolve the legislature.

(3) The President's Council should be used as an interim advisory body and joint Parliamentary-President's

Council committees should be established until a legislative system for whites, colored people and Indians is functioning.

(4) The government should issue a "declaration of intent" outlining its reform goals.

These proposals are profoundly disappointing given the high (and unrealistic) expectations aroused by the creation of the council and the recent National Party split. They are so devoid of specifics that one must conclude that they reflect either a lamentable political timidity or a failure to analyse the issues rigorously.

As a result the proposals completely avoid the central issue in our political debate — the structure and distribution of political power. What mechanism is to be created to elect the president? How will it operate? What powers are to be granted to the legislature? How is it to be structured? And perhaps most fun-

damental, what is the political destiny of the blacks in the common areas which the council itself accepts is both critical and unresolved?

Grave misgivings must be expressed about several aspects of the report which do contain specific proposals. Perhaps the greatest dangers lie in the possibilities for the abuse of executive power. Indeed, the proposals contain all the elements conducive to dictatorial government — benevolent or otherwise. They advocate the creation of a strong executive president but are noticeably silent on a system of checks and balances. The president would be elected for a seven-year term without a mechanism for impeachment or dismissal. He would enjoy power to initiate legislation and the cabinet would serve at his pleasure.

Where is a supreme court to limit executive power? Where is a bill of rights? Why has the legislature not been given constraining and independent authority? As Watergate has shown in the American context, we cannot simply assume that a president will automatically do what is right. Indeed, it is prudent to design institutions on the most pessimistic of assumptions and then create structures designed to avoid the greatest dangers. Yet these proposals are based upon the optimistic assumption that the president will be both able and reform-minded. But what if he is neither?

A second real weakness lies in the limitations of a piecemeal approach to constitution-making. It is simply not possible to design one part of a constitution without taking into account the properties of the other parts. How can sound proposals about the executive be made when simultaneous decisions about the legislature's composition and powers have not been considered? And why is the judiciary ignored in its entirety?

Although the language of scientific analysis is used throughout the report, this often serves merely to justify proposals which reflect National Party interests. For example, the council argues that the president must be elected in some indirect fashion because direct popular voting would produce a "sectional president". Yet the reverse is clearly true. A president elected by a multiracial electorate is surely less "sectional" given the colour-blind nature of the vote than a president indirectly elected, where the communities can see the colour of the electors and accurately estimate how they voted.

On balance, then, the report is curiously insubstantial and also seems divorced from the political realities of South Africa. It is thus grossly insensitive to the dilemmas faced by black and brown leaders and the community pressures which they confront.

What are the prospects for the future? One thing is clear — these vague proposals can be so tailored to serve National Party interests that it would be remarkable if the Government did not accept the basic recommendations. Thus we can be confident that when the specifics are determined, we will have a system which produces a National Party president. And the legislature, however composed, will still be controlled by the National Party.

However, the key to their viability lies in the hands of the black and brown communities. As even the council itself concedes, co-operative leadership is of critical importance and if the black and brown communities reject the proposals the system will fail.

Most black and brown leaders accept that reform is a process and not a "master plan". The key question is thus — do the proposals contain the minimum reforms necessary to secure coloured/Indian support for the process of co-operative change? In due course these leaders will speak for themselves, but at this stage it is difficult to be optimistic that the response will be favourable.

Even for the coloured and Indian communities, the proposals fall far short of guaranteed "equal political rights and citizenship". For despite the optimistic rhetoric contained in the report, important aspects of the proposals themselves are so devoid of specifics as to be meaning-

less, without detailed information about the mechanics of the system. Given the long and proud struggle of coloured people and Asians for equal political rights, will they now accept a system that at present offers mostly promises?

In addition, the council recommendations by excluding the possibility of black participation so categorically decrease the attractiveness of the proposals. It will be difficult for coloured and Asian leaders to argue that an evolutionary process has begun which can lead to full incorporation of blacks. Coloured and Indian people who do participate will be seen as part of a "ganging up" strategy designed to strengthen white domination over blacks. And black spokesmen will undoubtedly be passionately opposed to a system based upon their total exclusion.

The proposals, if implemented, will thus have very serious implications for all racial groups in South Africa. For whites, they hold out the uncertain prospect of increasingly authoritarian white rule. For coloured people and Indians, they offer a limited junior partnership with whites and the hint of future political reforms. And for black people in the common areas they contain the certainty of continuing domination and denationalisation.

If this analysis is even partly correct, the future holds out the prospect of greater dangers rather than a new promise.

CORRESPONDENT ASSESSES IMPLICATIONS OF PC PROPOSALS

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 14 May 82 p 9

[Article by John Battersby: "What the President's Council Didn't Say"]

[Text]

One of the most remarkable features of the constitutional package for a new dispensation which was unveiled by the President's Council yesterday is the degree to which it keeps its options open on the crucial issues.

Somewhat predictably this is already becoming the target of intense criticism of opponents of the Government both on the Left and the Right.

But, somewhat ironically, it could also become the feature which will make it impossible for the official Opposition and moderate coloured and Indian leaders to reject the proposals outright.

The four vital areas where the constitutional committee has left its options open are:

- The specific nature of the legislature and how coloureds and Indians will be included in it;
- The relationship of the legislature to the powerful executive and what checks and balances between the two there will be;
- The specifics of the voting procedure to elect the executive president; and,
- How blacks — and particularly urban blacks — will be incorporated in the new dispensation in the future.

Another significant recommendation by the President's Council is the one urging the government to issue a declaration of intent on how it sees the development of the con-

sociational system for whites, coloureds and Indians, how it sees the removal of discrimination, and what role it envisages for blacks in the new deal.

While the committee, in its summary of the central government proposals, advances the rather feeble excuse that it did not have time to complete its work on the precise nature of the legislative function, it hints in the report at an underlying and more fundamental reason.

"The committee senses that, given its premises, the reform of the legislative function is probably the most difficult part of its assigned task.

"One reason for this is obvious: while communities of colour look to participation in the central legislature as a way of redressing perceived wrongs in society, the great majority of whites look to the legislature to secure their interests."

The committee does narrow the future debate on the legislature by categorically ruling out a simple majoritarian system based on one man, one vote, on the one hand, and a system of three separate parliaments to accommodate the three groups on the other hand.

The remaining options are three chambers in one parliament on separate voters' roles, or a single-chamber parliament for the three groups.

One scenario would be the

gradual transformation of the President's Council from a nominated body into an elected multi-racial upper house of Parliament with powers to initiate legislation.

From there, the white assembly could either be downgraded to the status of the Indian and defunct Coloured Persons Council to deliberate on matters of interest to their own groups, with the upper house becoming the single chamber of Parliament.

Alternatively the Indian and coloured councils could be upgraded to the level of a white assembly to be amalgamated into three lower chambers of a four-chamber Parliament.

To have spelt out either option at this stage would clearly have exacerbated the government's problem in selling the proposals to its more reluctant followers and to counter the propaganda war that is expected from the Conservative Party and the extra-parliamentary far Right.

On the other hand, to have left it open, as the committee has chosen to do, will also provide the Rightwing with a powerful weapon.

However, the report makes it clear that specific recommendations on the legislature — and the relationship between the executive

and the legislature and the voting mechanism for the president — will be the subject of a supplementary report or reports.

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the open-ended nature of the proposals is the relative degree of finality and urgency of implementation that accompanies the proposals for an awesomely powerful non-parliamentary executive.

The present legislature, functioning with the proposed executive, will accentuate the imbalance and could contain serious dangers if the presidency fell into the wrong hands.

To prevent the election of a verkrampste president the weighting of coloureds and Asians and enlightened whites would have to such as to ensure that a Rightwing candidate would have no chance of success.

Another crucial area where the report leaves its options open is on the position of blacks — and particularly urban blacks — in the future set-up.

In the joint report on local and regional government the committees make it clear that the involvement of blacks, at least at the metropolitan level, is "logical and unavoidable".

In the report on central government the constitution-

al committee goes out of its way to go beyond its restrictive mandate and to leave the door on blacks slightly ajar.

At one point the report suggests that if the consociational plan works well for whites, coloureds and Asians then "other possibilities might present themselves".

It also concedes it "is fully aware of the fact that the establishment of black national states by no means solves all the political and constitutional problems that arise in respect of blacks, especially in the main urban centres in South Africa".

The Government's response to these hints from the president's council will be crucial in the degree to which the PFP Opposition is prepared to support the plan.

It will also be crucial in determining the degree of opposition to the plan within Nationalist ranks and the degree of success the far Right will have in trying to torpedo the proposals and to sway the balance of Afrikaner support to join them.

One thing is certain: by leaving its options open in these crucial areas — presumably in the hope of more enlightened solutions in the future than the Government could afford politically at present — the President's Council has made a contribution in throwing the constitutional debate wide open.

# CRACKDOWN ON BORDER INVASION REPORTED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 18 May 82 pp 5, 9

[Article by Chris Marais]

[Text]

**IN A massive crackdown on illegal immigrants crossing the eastern borders into South Africa, an estimated 1 000 Mozambicans are being caught and tried every month.**

This figure is seen by the authorities as nowhere near the total number of Mozambicans who actually cross into the Eastern Transvaal in search of employment and a chance to move deeper into the country.

A special police unit has been formed to patrol the Mozambique border.

There is evidence that illegal immigrants have been rounded up as far inland as Krugersdorp.

"This movement represents both a security threat and a health hazard," said the District Commandant for the Lowveld, Lieutenant-Colonel Ben Naude.

## Eastern Transvaal Commissioner's

Courts are having to process as many as 50 cases of illegal immigration a day, as authorities battle to keep up with the flow of hungry, work-seeking Mozambicans "jumping the fence" and begging farmers for employment.

And while there is as yet no strong evidence of an organised forgery racket involving reference books, Lt-Col Naude said police had discovered a number of forged stamps in books.

The illegals enter South Africa at three main points:

- The Kruger National Park;
- The farming areas near the Komati-poort border;
- The Tonga area of the KaNgwane homeland.

Many farmers — heedful of the R2 000 fine imposed for employing an illegal immigrant — are turning them in to the authorities. Others take pity on them, feed them and send them on their way.

"They are very good farm workers," said Mr Geoff Millar, a local sugar cane farmer. "And we hope the Government makes it easier for us to recruit them."

An Eastern Transvaal official of the Department of Co-operation and Development, however, admitted that the authorities were trying to curb the influx.

The men from Mozambique are prepared to work for wages as low as R60 a month, and this attitude has drawn sharp criticism from Mr Nganai Mabuza, the Chief Executive Councillor of KaNgwane, South Africa's only black homeland without self-governing status.

"We have set a poverty datum line at R120 a month," he said. "That is the lowest liveable wage a man can earn. Our people are not being employed because they will not work for less."

Meanwhile, the "illegals" have told police and officials from the Department of Co-operation and Development that hunger and the lack of employment within Mozambique force them to cross into South Africa.

## Looking for Work South of the Border

IT'S a simple matter of tradition, your Eastern Transvaal farmer will tell you.

For decades now, workers from Mozambique have crossed the Lebombo Mountains to seek work in the lush forests and fruitlands of Jock of the Bushveld country.

Their presence has been appreciated, nay, relied on by the owners of vast canelands and cottonfields stretching from Nelspruit right across to the Komati border.

The arrangement was a mutually happy one, they say. As long as you let the local Bantu Affairs Commissioner know who worked on your farm, as long as you obtained your "no objection" permit from his office, there were no problems.

The whole atmosphere of the Eastern Transvaal has been a relaxed one, despite the looming presence of a Marxist-oriented country for a neighbour.

Last year, a Rand Daily Mail team investigating cases of "white flight" paranoia on South Africa's borders found a young, healthy group of white farmers, completely at ease with the border situation, in the area.

But times, as they must, have changed.

Within the boundaries of South Africa the unemployment figures among rural blacks has become a real problem. It's not so easy for a farmer to employ labour from across the border these days.

A spokesman for the Barberton office of the Department of Co-Operation and Development outlined the present system:

"Firstly, we only consider applications for male workers. Should a woman from Mozambique be allowed to work here, and should she bear a child while in this country, that child would be South African.

"We have outlined a minimal wage which must be paid the man. He receives R65 a month plus housing and meal benefits. We work through a Portuguese recruiting agent in Nelspruit. The farmer applies for a no-objection permit and this application form is sent to our Chief Commissioner in Pietersburg for consideration.

"After that the form is sent to our headquarters in Pretoria. If the prospective employer has been granted permission to take on a number of Mozambicans, he then contacts the recruiting agent who organises everything.

"The chosen workers then enter South Africa legally on a renewable permit system which would effectively allow him to work here for a total of 18 months."

The spokesman however admitted that the "quotas" had been trimmed and that there was an active move afoot to curb the

influx of Mozambicans into South Africa.

During a Mail survey of farmers' attitudes to the situation in the Eastern Transvaal, the question arose: why choose Mozambicans for farm work instead of local Swazis, Ndebeles or Northern Sothos?

"Mozambicans are more in touch with farm work than the inhabitants of our trust lands," was the answer. And it was not because the local South African blacks were "lazier", it was just that they preferred the industry-orientated opportunities on the Reef to working on a farm.

This answer was partly backed up by the Chief Executive Councillor of KaNgwane, Mr Nganani Mabuza, who told the Mail his people wanted a living wage above what he said was the Poverty Datum Line: R120 a month.

He also said KaNgwane inhabitants looked to the central Transvaal for employment on projects like Sasol and the various mining concerns.

"The fact remains, however, that the Mozambicans will accept any wage — they are desperate," he said.

"And employing them is making inroads into our own efforts at finding jobs for our people."

The farmers' answer to that is that they cannot afford to pay such salaries en masse to farmhands because of the desperate present prices paid for their crops.

On the way to Komati, the Mail spoke to Mr Henning Radley, secretary of the Malelane Farmers' Association.

"I can tell you that if there is anyone in this area employing Mozambicans illegally, he's not going to admit it with any degree of pride," he said.

"It is not the policy of our association to exploit the labour situation by employing Mozambicans at lower wages — that is extremely short sighted.

"Our future lies with the blacks here, and we are weaning ourselves away from the old system of employing people from across the border."

Mr Radley said his association was at present busy with training schemes to upgrade the locally employed farmworker's skills.

Closer to Barberton, farmer Mr Nico Grobler painted a different picture:

"Some nights, they come here starving and asking for work. I know what the fines are for employing a Mozambican illegally, Meneer, so I can't help him.

"But the man is hungry, and so I feed him and send him on his way. Then, when I go down to inspect the lands, I find him working alongside my registered men just so he can be fed at lunchtime. And I have to send him away."

The District Commandant for the Lowveld, Lieutenant-Colonel Ben Naude, says his newly appointed border patrol unit has rounded up illegal immigrants mostly on the maze of farm roads that score the area.

"Some of them come through the Kruger National Park, others just jump the fence lower down," he said.

After their arrest, trial and prison sentence is served, the men are taken back to the Ressano Garcia border post. Do they then simply jump the fence again and hope against hope that they won't be caught before ending up on the Reef? That question went unanswered by the authorities.

And back at the Commissioner's courts, the rote questions continue:

- What is your name?
- Where do you come from?
- Are you a Mozambique citizen?
- Are you in possession of a valid passport or any other document that would authorise your stay in South Africa?
- Where did you enter South Africa?
- What did you come to do here?
- Have you been here before?

Obviously, depending on the answers, judgment and sentence are delivered.

The cases we sat in on were dealt with swiftly by the hard-pressed commissioner. Mostly, the men were sent to jail for three months for illegal entry into South Africa. Another three months followed for working illegally in this country.

Another factor emerging from the cases was that the Mozambicans often paid a woman legally registered in the area to say she was their "mother" or some kind of a relative to help them obtain the necessary permits to stay on.



## FEARS OF MOVE TOWARDS 'BENEVOLENT' DICTATORSHIP' VOICED

South American Style

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 17 May 82 p 9

[Article by Patrick Laurence: "One Man One Vote--But Who Is the Man?"]

[Text]

FEARS that South Africa is moving inexorably toward establishment of a "benevolent dictatorship" as the answer to its problems have been aroused by the advocacy of an executive president by the constitutional committee of the President's Council (PC).

These fears give a new and sharper focus to an observation made by Dr Willem de Klerk, editor of *Die Transvaler*, a little more than five years ago.

"People — responsible people — are cautiously beginning to put out feelers as whether a dictatorship must not be our destiny," he wrote.

Dr De Klerk, who made clear his personal preference for South African-style democracy or *etie demokrasie* to dictatorship, then summarised some of the arguments used to justify the belief that South Africa should have a dictator.

They included:

- South Africa's involvement in an "undeclared war" and need for its leaders' hands to be "freed from democratic red tape."

- South Africa's stalemated position, as its leaders battled in a crossfire of conflicting pressures for change from the black majority and the Western Powers and resistance to fundamental change from the white electorate.

Encapsulating the arguments of the pro-dictatorship school, Dr De Klerk went on: "Democracy has not got the will to take the bit between the teeth. For the sake of preservation of all... a dictator is the only solution".

One of the scenarios for the dictatorship included a seven-year suspension of the franchise, the creation of a multiracial executive as the highest authority and the temporary suspension of parliament.

These three points are, in the view of some observers, paralleled in proposals of the PC's constitutional committee.

- The executive president will be elected for a *seven-year* term of office, during which there will be a de facto suspension of the franchise in so far as it relates to him.

- The executive president will be empowered to appoint a tri-racial cabinet, whose members will not be members of parliament and therefore not responsible to it in the same way as the present cabinet.

- The executive president will have the power to dissolve parliament and thus be able to put it out of action. Moreover, the increased power of the president will mean that parliament will be a pale shadow of its former self and thereby less conspicuous as a cog in the machinery of government.

The headline chosen by Beeld in its front-page report on the PC proposals unconsciously gave credence to perceptions of the envisaged executive president as a ben-

evolent dictator. It proclaimed: "South Africa's Strongman." In political language, strongman, in the mind of many, translates as a euphemism for dictator.

The PC committee seems to have been taking the French presidential system as a model for its proposed executive president and — according to Prof Robert Schrire, of the University of Cape Town — to have been specifically influenced by France's 1958 constitution.

The PC report stated: "A non-parliamentary executive is best suited to the needs of South Africa, since a *strong* president intent on reform would be able to supply a sense of basic security and thereby increase support for his reformist measures."

It continued: "A *supra-ethnic* president and his cabinet provide the most effective means of accommodating the different communities while at the same time preventing paralysis of government due to deep division or deadlock in the legislature." (Italics added in both quotations).



The underlying rationale appears to be that the proposed constitution will be congenial to the emergence of a South African De Gaulle to lead the nation out of its difficulties in the same way as General De Gaulle ended France's war in Algeria and prevented it from tearing the French nation apart.

As Prof David Welsh, of the University of Cape Town, observed: "Whether we have a De Gaulle available is another question."

The assumption that a supra-ethnic president will emanate from the new constitution is similarly open to doubt. The legislature will be structured on an ethnic or group basis. So will most, though not all, local authorities.

Why should an ethnically composed political foundation suddenly produce a supra-ethnic president, the more so as the first president will be elected by the existing all-white legislature?

As Mr Kowie Marais, of the Progressive Federal Party, said: "The first president will be elected by the exclusively white House of Assembly, which means he will be a Nationalist, and in turn means he will almost certainly be Mr P W Botha."

If Mr Marais is right — and then seems little doubt that he is — would Mr Botha be able to shed his sectarian past and metamorphose into a truly national leader able to act as an honest broker between conflicting group interests?

The PC committee report seems to think that an executive committee which is divorced from the legislature — neither the president nor his cabinet will be members of the legislature — will not be influenced "by immediate political and electoral considerations" and thus be in a position to take a broad or supra-ethnic view of priorities.

The prospect of continued rule without the consent of the black majority recalls the warning of an earlier commission, the Theron Commission.

It cautioned: "No regime can in the long run remain in being if it is not found acceptable by the *decisive* majority of the population. An unacceptable regime loses its basis of legitimacy and can in the end only remain in being through the use of force." (*Italics added*).

The prospect of a powerful executive president convinced of his own reformist mission but possessing limited legitimacy cannot be eliminated. The concomitant risk is that he will abuse his power, particularly if he feels time is running out for the implementation of his reformist programme.

As the PC proposals stand at present there are few direct checks on the executive president's powers, not even for his impeachment and dismissal.

In that context Prof Welsh remarked: "I hope that he will not be responsible only to God. It would be bad enough if Mr Botha becomes president. But if Eugene Terre Blanche (of the neo-fascist Afrikaans Weerstandsbeweging) became president he could become South Africa's fuhrer."

Mr Marais, who warned that a dictatorship was in the offing in 1975 when the first hints of an executive president began to surface, said: "The first indications are that the executive president will have wide powers. The signs are that he may gather for himself the extensive powers of an autocrat. The temptation to become a dictator will be very great."

The worst case scenario is that the PC proposed new order will lead, not to a Gaullist-style government, but to a replica of a South American dictatorship in which the status quo is shored up by a combination of authoritarianism and co-option.

Cartoon View

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 14 May 82 p 8

[Text]



CSO: 4700/1299

# IRAQ BECOMES LARGEST PURCHASER OF TOBACCO

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 May 82 p 11

[Text]

**HARARE** — Iraq has become the largest single buyer of Zimbabwean tobacco with the signing of agreements with five local companies to buy 40-million US dollars (43-million) worth of this year's crop.

The deal, to buy 9 000 tons of tobacco, confirms a pledge made last year by the Iraqi Ambassador, Mali Sumaida, that more and bigger deals could be expected in the years ahead.

In 1981 his country bought 5 000 tons worth 25-million US dollars on Harare's tobacco floors.

"To develop relations between Iraq and Zimbabwe we have increased our purchases of your tobacco," Mr Sumaida said.

"The agreements make the Iraqi Tobacco State Enterprise the largest Middle East partner of Zimbabwe in this trade," he added.

However, a leading tobacco expert said Iraq had now become the

biggest single buyer, certainly since independence and possibly since the industry began selling abroad.

"This must also be one of the largest foreign exchange earnings deals in the industry's history," he said.

The Iraqi Ambassador said the 9 000 tons was the largest quantity of tobacco purchased from any one country and hinted at even more in the next season.

This year's consignment, added Mr Sumaida, would help to meet Iraqi consumption of cigarettes while the remainder would be exported after manufacture to other Middle Eastern countries and friendly socialist States.

"We grow our own tobacco, but it is not sufficient to meet demand.

"The aim of this increased purchase is to strengthen trade ties, but also to lessen dependence on other sources of supply," he said. — Sapa

PROTECTION OF INFORMATION BILL CRITICIZED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 May 82 p 4

[From the "Parliament" page]

[Text]

**THE** Protection of Information Bill is "a blow to democracy" and would no doubt have a disastrous effect on the Press, Mr Van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) said yesterday.

Opposing the third reading of the Bill, he said he was convinced the legislation would create even greater problems for journalists.

"This Bill will have an intimidating effect on the Press and is intolerable in a country which calls itself a democracy."

The legislation left itself wide open to abuse and he had no doubt that it would be abused.

It was nothing more than a vote of no-confidence in the ability of people handling sensitive security matters and created the impression that nobody could be trusted with confidential affairs. It

would affect people who had absolutely no intention of harming the interests of the Republic, he said.

Replying, the Minister of Justice, Mr Koble Coetsee, rejected as "absolute nonsense" Mr Van der Merwe's claim that the Bill was a threat to democracy. He asked why similar legislation introduced in Britain had not been a blow to that country's democracy.

The controversial Bill, which prohibits, among other things, the obtaining and disclosure of certain information which may jeopardise the security of the State, was passed by 97 votes to 18, the New Republic Party and Conservative Party voting with the Government.

The NRP had initially voiced strong objections to certain aspects of the legislation but nevertheless supported the final stage.

## MORALE OF SADF TROOPS AT PEAK

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 May 82 p 2

[Article by Keith Abendroth]

[Text]

**MORALE** is at a peak among South African troops in the bitter border war — with growing confidence that the "Boers," as Swapo calls the South Africans, are winning the war on two broad fronts.

It was clear on an extensive tour of the operational area bordering Angola this week that the South African Defence Force is well on top of the situation.

But it is also becoming equally clear that the South African authorities are making massive strides forward in their overall strategy to win minds, hearts and confidence of the local South West African peoples.

Massive guidance and aid are being given optimistically by the South Africans — and gratefully received by the inhabitants over a wide range, from agriculture to schooling, and police training to the provision of roads, and other infrastructures.

Increasing intelligence feedback indicates that Swapo is disillusioned and in many cases is, in fact, being

hoist with its own petard — coming up against growing opposition from Black South West Africans bitter at Swapo atrocities and losing loved ones to Swapo landmines.

A new and highly refined level of co-operation is also being achieved between a police specialist counter-insurgency unit and the Defence Force.

In this case, the police are co-operating happily — and returning an enviably high kill-rate of terrorists — in the reverse of their inland South African role.

While the army traditionally backs the police within South Africa's borders, in South West Africa the police are backing up the army.

The war is at its most bitter along the 420 kms of cut line, no man's land, between Owambo and Angola.

And it is here, according to Defence Force sources, where the force is continuing to hit back — and hit hard — in cross-border hot pursuit operations.

A senior intelligence officer told The Citizen: "The balance is delicate, but the scales ap-

pear to be tipping in our direction.

"Certainly, we have got Swapo more than just worried. He is not a good fighter, and his military activity recently has been confined largely to clashes where he outnumbers the security forces by more than four to one, or long distance mortar engagements."

Youth organisations among the Black South West African youth are claimed to be playing an increasing role in countering Swapo's earlier successes in enticing Black youth away for military training

with offers of free education.

Also, to a minimum now, are cases of abductions of Black South West Africans for military training elsewhere in Africa and Russia.

Throughout the operational sectors, the atmosphere is one of good morale and determination to help all South West Africans along the road to independence.

A full series of reports on activities in the operational area will appear in The Citizen on Monday, together with pictures.

NDLOVU ATTACK ON BISHOP TUTU REPORTED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 18 May 82 p 2

[Article by Nkopane Makobane]

[Text]

IT was lack of teamwork that led to the firing of six South African Council of Churches employees — contrary to Bishop Desmond Tutu's claims that this action was brought about by "lack of finance".

This was disclosed yesterday by Mr Goba Ndlovu, acting president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, who emphasised that Bishop Tutu "never mentioned to me that we were being sacked because of lack of funds."

Mr Ndlovu edited SACC publications Kairos and Ecunews in the council's communications department. He and five other people were paid off last month and told to leave within 48 hours.

Bishop Tutu, SACC's general secretary, had said that the sacking of the six staffers and the closing of the communications division and another department followed a decision taken by the SACC's executive committee because of a lack of funds.

But Mr Ndlovu said yesterday that a letter

from Bishop Tutu informing him of the termination of his services read: "My dear Goba. It can never be easy to have to tell people you like that their services are being terminated. I am distressed because you have undoubted journalistic skills, but you have just not been able quite to get it all together."

Mr Ndlovu said: "It is clear from the letter it is not only untrue but also misleading that the communications division of the SACC was closed down because of lack of funds. It is extremely unfortunate that a person of Bishop Tutu's standing in the black community in general, and the church in particular, should have overreacted in the manner he has done in **The SOWETAN** in which certain statements were attributed to me."

GRADUAL POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL ASSIMILATION OF BLACKS URGED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 17 May 82 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text]

LAST WEEK, industrialist Mr Basil Landau told the President's Council that within the next 18 years, South Africa's population would be 50-million - and only six-million of this total will be white.

Mr Landau was, of course, looking at the figure in terms of whether whites will still, then, be able to manage the economy of this country, and calling for a greater effort to train up "people of colour" to take up more "responsible" positions. It makes sense, and it is right.

But that is just the one side of the coin. The other, which is a lot more frightening, is that unless this country starts preparing itself for this eventuality right now, we are going to be faced with a crisis of proportions never before seen on the African continent - or in the whole world for that matter. A political crisis, that is.

We would not be so naive as to hope that the political situation in this country will still be as it is now. We know that there will be changes - brought about by the pressures of the times and recognition of the realities of the situation as we go along.

But 18 years is not a long time, and unless we avoid a dramatic change then, we must work towards a more gradual

evolutionary process that will ensure peace and stability.

Simple arithmetic tells us that if Mr Landau's projection is reasonably near being correct, six-million people will be trying to rule over 44-million people.

We do not know whether the National Party will still be in power then. But we do know that as long as there are parties like the HNP, and the Conservative Party of Dr Andries Treurnicht, the Nats will be holding back in their reform programmes.

The figures tell us that unless forward planning programmes are put into effect immediately, we will be faced with a serious political crisis then. The ingredients for a revolution are there, and it is something we must all desperately avoid because we know there can be no winners - only losers, all of us.

What is required now is for the white electorate to be given the facts in simple terms. We have no option now, and it is this Government's duty to make it quite clear to their voters that that option must be taken.

This means that a gradual assimilation of blacks into the political, economic and social structures of this country must

be started now. There is no time to waste, for we must be behind schedule even at this stage.

We are not, of course, suggesting that the Government should content itself with cosmetic reforms. The days of that type of approach have long come and gone. What is needed is a bold, new approach, which can only be worked out - not by the whites alone (the days of that approach are also a thing of the past) but by all the peoples of this country in a sensible, responsible way.

Even at this late stage, the Government will still find a great willingness among the peoples of this country. The ball is in their court.

CSO: 4700/1322



CLOSURE OF FORT HARE UNIVERSITY REPORTED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 7 May 82 p 3

[Article by Charles Mogale and Len Maseko]

[Text]

**THE University of Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape was yesterday finally closed to boycotting students.**

The closing follows a boycott by the entire student body which lasted four days. The rector, Prof J A Lamprecht, told the students that the hostels and dining halls would be locked to them by 4 pm, and that students found on the campus afterwards would be trespassing.

Student sources said yesterday afternoon that hordes had started leaving the campus.

The closure follows a scene on the campus last Saturday when Ciskei's Chief Lennox Sebe was stoned and forced to turn back when he and

members of his cabinet tried to attend a graduation ceremony at the university.

The incident resulted in 22 students being detained and two shot. Subsequently, 1 500 were arrested and released for attending an "illegal gathering."

The university paid the R50 fines for the release of the students, but later students demanded that they would not return to classes unless:

- the R50 loans were frozen and
- the 22 detained were released.

Several deadlines for the closure of the university were extended by the rector.

A statement released by the university said the university council would be in charge of the premises.

"Those students who are attending lectures and those whose names have been recorded in class registers will be accommodated and provided with meals," the statement said.

A spokesman declined to comment if any students had attended lectures or been marked present in class registers. However, student sources said none had attended.

CSO: 4700/1322

NEDBANK PAINTS BLEAK PICTURE OF ECONOMY

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 16 May 82 p 1

[Article by John Spira]

[Text]

ALTHOUGH balance-of-payments prospects have improved as a result of the decline in total real domestic spending, South Africa's economic outlook for the next year is bleak.

Nedbank's May Economic Roundup states that last year's fourth-quarter decline saw the first significant quarterly decline in the volume of imports since 1979.

"This seems to represent a cyclical turning-point, since the Customs and Excise figures for the first quarter of this year indicate that the fourth-quarter trend has continued."

It should, however, be borne in mind that, because of the 70% rise in the value of imports during the past two years, the absolute level of imports still exceeds foreign earnings by a very large margin.

The bank says that the tightening of fiscal policy in the March budget came at a time when the "real" side of the economy was already slowing.

"Therefore, even without a tightening of fiscal policy, the economy was bound to have slowed further, but the adjustment would not have been quick enough. The substantial tax increases of the Budget should intensify the deceleration.

"In real terms, gross domestic expenditure is likely to continue to decline until well into 1983.

"This could take real eco-

nomie growth close to zero in 1982, and there may even be one or more quarters of declining real GDP."

Nor will the poor outlook for the economy be relieved by an abatement of the inflation rate.

Nedbank believes that the effect of higher producer prices has not yet been seen in the official consumer price numbers, "and it can therefore be expected that the rate of increase in consumer prices may continue to accelerate in the second quarter of this year".

The continuing recession abroad, together with declining international inflation, suggests that the immediate outlook for the gold price is not good.

CSO: 4700/1301

## DETAILS ON MILITARY IN SWA GIVEN

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 31 May 82 p 8

[Article by Keith Abendroth]

[Text]

THE not-at-all secret weapon called "civic action" appears set to knock out Swapo and to win for South Africa the bitter bush war along the remote 1 500 km northern border of South West Africa.

Military correspondents who toured the war front last week saw clearly that the South African Defence Force is more than on top of the Swapo threat and in fact has Swapo on the defensive and on the run.

Despite the logistics problems posed by the vast areas to be covered, the war is being fought so successfully now that even Swapo headquarters in Angola is constantly having to be changed — or face certain destruction.

Correspondents saw the progress being made in winning the goodwill and confidence of the wartorn SWA peoples of a myriad of tribes.

The war front theoretically extends from the Kaokoland in the west through Ovambo, Kwangali, Kavango to Mbukushu and the Caprivi.

But the focal point of constant war activity is over some 400 km of the "cut line" along the

border between Ovambo and Angola.

The predominantly Ovambo-membered Swapo military wing bases most of its forays into SWA over this border area.

Commandant A S Kleynhans, a senior intelligence officer of the defence force's "civic action" plan told The Citizen that Swapo efforts to take the war into Kaokoland had failed miserably.

"They have been trying to activate the Kaokoveld but have not had any success because of the mountainous terrain, logistic problems, the sparse population and because the Kaokos traditionally have little time for the Ovambos", he said.

To the east, beyond Ovambo, Swapo successes were little better, and Swapo's reputation for brutality and atrocities, in which people had been clubbed to death and put to death in other ways, was catching up with it.

In addition, Swapo's habit of laying landmines in mainly civilian travelled routes and then claiming that civilians killed had been murdered by South African mines no long-

er washed with the local population he said.

Along the cut line was a no — man's land and it was commonly known that to venture onto it meant "being shot first and questions being asked afterwards".

However, because of the impossibility of fully and continually patrolling the area there was a regular movement of people back and forth from Angola.

Cmdt Kleynhans said: "The worst aspect of Swapo warfare we now face is intimidation of the local peoples. But in many ways this is boomeranging back on Swapo."

"And it is total war on this front. For instance we had started to make good progress in teaching tribesmen to use fertiliser to get better crops, only to have this countered by Swapo propaganda that it is a Boer trick."

"The argument goes that the fertiliser in time results in the sterility of people who eat crops produced with its aid."

Despite the general poverty of Ovamboland there appears to be plenty of money in circulation and tribesmen

who often plead poverty and inability to buy food always seem to have money for cuca, the local beer.

Literally thousands of cuca bars dot the landscape, and Cmdt Kleynhans confessed: "We are somewhat puzzled to know where all the money comes from".

Previously Swapo had been successful in luring away young people for military training with promises of attaining a medical

degree after two year's study and similar promises.

Then recruits were told that they would have to fight first for Ovambo's freedom to be able to use the qualifications they would get.

But now vast educational programmes in Ovambo particularly, with 120 000 pupils at nearly 440 schools, together with technical and other training facilities, were winning over more and more young people.

Photo Caption

Two of the many communist and Eastern Bloc vehicles captured by South Africans and now being used by them. A bus and a ration jeep -dubbed by soldiers "Gifts from the Northern Cross Fund".

[Photo not reproduced]

Troops Sign Pledge Against Atrocities

THE defence force is pulling out all stops to prevent any atrocities happening, or charges of brutality being levelled against South African troops.

In addition to the special commission of inquiry appointed to investigate the overall situation and claims of atrocities, the defence force has set up a special committee to give top priority attention to any possible claims.

Also, every soldier in the field is now obliged to sign a formal declaration that he will not allow himself to be party to any brutality involving any of the local people.

Commandant A S Burger a senior intelligence officer, told The Citizen at Oshikati — that the special committee was made up of representatives of the defence force, the South African Police, the local authorities and rep-

resentatives of the various tribes.

He said that top priority was given to the project because of the defence forces awareness of the importance of good relationships with the local people.

"We regard it as so important that we have declared this year specially to be used in the interests of good relationships," he said.

The special declaration each man was required to sign brought home to him that he would be in very hot water indeed if he overstepped the mark.

The declaration states: "I (signed) hereby state that I have been informed about the critical role of the local population in a revolutionary war.

"I realise that it is an aim of the enemy to create frustration and anger among the security forces with the ob-

ject of encouraging retaliatory measures and atrocities. I am also aware that such actions can only serve the terrorist cause and must be avoided at all costs.

"As a member of the security forces, I further undertake to act honourably at all times and to remember that the population is the primary medium of the struggle".

## Deadly Little Men From the Bush

SOUTH Africa is rapidly getting her own variation of the deadly Gurkha soldier of World War II — a merciless killer, superb tracker and outstanding soldiers able to survive in the worst conditions.

At Omega military base virtually on the Angolan border, in the West Caprivi, more and more hardy bushmen soldiers are being turned out by the army to fight the enemy they hate, Swapo.

Their unit, 201 battalion, already has a proud record of "kills" and they operate primarily in the most primitive but natural conditions, to which they are accustomed.

Superb trackers, they are relentless when on the trail of swapo—and merciless in their killing procedures.

The unit was started in 1974 when the first 45 bushmen families of two tribes, the Pa'sekela and the Barakwela, fled from the war in Angola.

In Angola they had been traditionally held in slavery by both Black and Portuguese, and as a result of this they developed an all consuming hatred of the Black man particularly.

At Omega the only person to whom they will listen is White and

once a White has proved his fighting ability, they will protect him with their lives, White soldiers of the unit declare.

Commandant "Lieb" Liebenberg, acting commanding officer of the unit, spoke with obvious affection when he described the qualities of his bushmen troops.

An enigma, the bushmen who come out of the bush to join the unit cause many social and offbeat other problems. They are, for example, usually accompanied by their entire families of mothers, fathers, grandparents and often uncles and aunts.

And the army provides a home for them all. In return, in time, it gets a deadly soldier.

They have to be taught the most elementary of actions such as sleeping on beds and cooking wholesome food.

And they have great difficulty understanding the value of money. They get plenty because they receive the same pay as their White counterparts.

Their marksmanship is poor at first — when they train on targets —. But it improves when the three dimensional enemy is in front of them.

## Harbour for 1 000 Ships

ALMOST like a medieval state, ruled by a military commander and a civilian director, Walvis Bay lies far to the north of the province of which it is technically part, the Cape.

The people of Walvis Bay itself are adamant that they do not want to become part of South West Africa.

The army group defending the port is 2 South African Infantry Battalion and is nearly 21 years old.

The cost of living is high and the economy, depends on fishing and canning.

The civilian director of Walvis Bay, Mr Dornmehl Vosloo, told The Citizen: We'll never give

Walvis Bay up..."

He said that Walvis Bay was unique in South Africa, and not only for geographic reasons.

"It has tremendous strategic value for the Republic and has the perfect harbour — a harbour capable of housing 1 000 ships," he said.

CSO: 4700/1328

HARBORS HIT RECORD CARGO TONNAGE

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 16 May 82 p 36

[Article by Elizabeth Rouse]

[Text] A record tonnage of cargo passed through South African harbours in SA Transport Services' financial year to March 1982, thanks to increased ore shipments and continued high imports.

Total harbour traffic at the six main ports amounted to more than 85,4-million tons.

Deep-sea export shipments rose to 65,6-million tons with Richards Bay's coal shipments accounting for 30,6-million tons and Saldanha Bay's iron-ore shipments totalling 13,8-million tons.

Export tonnage from Durban slightly exceeded those of imports at 9,7-million tons, while exports at Port Elizabeth increased to 4,8-million tons, thanks to higher shipments of ores.

Durban port handled the bulk of South African deep-sea import cargo amounting to 9,3-million tons followed by Cape Town with 2,2-million tons and Port Elizabeth with 1,4-million tons. Total deep-sea landed cargo came to 14,5-million tons.

Container traffic handled amounted to 11,6-million tons and 878 719 containers passed through ports.

Deep-sea containers landed came to 345 348 while 93 312 coastwise import containers shipped totalled 347 732 with coastwise containers passing through all ports totalling 93 312.

With import and export containers in balance there should have been no accumulation of empty containers at depots.

Nevertheless, the SA Container Depot at City Deep has a number of empties stacked up.

Port traffic speeded up again in March after a slight downturn in February.

Deep-sea export tonnage increased to 6,2-million tons (5,8-million) while import tonnage rose to 1,1-million tons (955 826).

Coal exports from Richards Bay rose to more than 4-million tons (2,4-million in February).

CSO: 4700/1301



## CONFUSION OVER IMPORT PERMITS REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 16 May 82 p 36

/Text/

**THERE** is widespread confusion in the clothing and textile industries as well as in the retail stores about what is going to happen this year over clothing import permits.

It is certain, however, that clothing imports will be much less in 1982 in volume than they were in 1981. It is also possible that they could even be lower in money terms.

The confusion started when Mr P D Jacobson, chairman of Progress Industries, said in his annual report in March: "It seems that there has been a drastic curtailment of import permits in clothing for 1982, which I believe is due to the country's balance-of-trade problems."

This view was promptly denied, however, by Mr Frank Whitaker, chairman of the National Clothing Federation of South Africa.

He said that because of staff shortages at the end of last year the Department of Imports had simply applied a general rule of granting 25% of importers' needs as a holding operation until detailed applications could be considered more carefully.

A leading clothing retailer, who does not wish to be quoted directly, told me, however, that his group had

had its import level for January to June confirmed at the same value as for the first half of 1981.

But there are two ways in which that policy is less liberal towards imports than might be supposed.

● The majority of imports are brought into the country in the second half of the year, particularly in the run-up to Christmas.

It is therefore the permit policy in the July-to-December period that is most important.

Some retailers believe that, with gold so depressed and the balance of payments under such pressure, permits will be reduced in the second six months of 1982.

● Permits are in rand value terms, not in quantities of goods. The rand has fallen by 35% against the dollar since the beginning of 1981.

Although the fall is less than against most other currencies, including those of such mass clothing exporters as Taiwan and South Korea, a repeat level of permits necessarily means a lower volume of goods.

This reduction of volume will be further accentuated by the 10% import surcharge, which will again shrink the real value of permits.

Overseas suppliers, even if they are "dumping" goods, also cannot ignore inflation rises in their own costs.

Clothing has long been one of the most contentious of all import areas in

South Africa.

Hugh Yorke-Mitchell, president of the National Clothing Federation, says: "We employ 250 000 people — yet goods are being shipped to South Africa at prices below the cost of the cloth we buy. Our livelihood is threatened."

The Government has appointed a 14-member committee under Professor Willem Steenkamp to examine the whole question of protection in the clothing industry. However, the committee is not expected to report before the end of this year.

It had originally been thought, when the Steenkamp inquiry was set up last December, that import permit policy would be left unchanged pending its findings.

But the deteriorating balance-of-payments position has probably added weight to the domestic manufacturers' pleas for help.

Clothing imports to South Africa last year were worth about R150-million compared with total sales of clothing in the country of around R1 200-million.

Mr Yorke-Mitchell says that the Common Market countries are taking increasingly restrictive action against clothing imports from Third World or newly industrialised countries.

This, he says, could mean that more and more goods will be aimed at South Africa to compensate.

COLOUREDS BECOME MARKET TARGET FOR MANUFACTURERS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 16 May 82 p 9

/Article by Vera Beljakova/

/Text/

COLOUREDS are increasingly becoming a market target for consumer manufacturers now that the total coloured income rose to R1 850-million in 1981, thus showing a 21% increase on the previous year.

This figure is expected to rise even more steeply during 1982, and according to the Theron Commission's figures on coloured consumer expenditure, this money will be spent mainly on: food, R733-million; clothing, R238-million; housing, R193-million; transport, R127-million; furniture equipment, R122-million; insurance, R68-million; personal care, R63-million.

Since 84% of all coloured expenditure is in the Cape Province, Market Research Africa (MRA) is increasing its research activities in Cape Town for consumer products.

MRA reports that 40% of the income is spent within the Cape Peninsula area, and

that 13% of coloured households enjoy an income of more than R800 a month, accounting for almost 30% of the total coloured income.

Coloured people total about 2,7-million, of whom 1,3-million are adults and 1,4-million children under 16 — the consumers of tomorrow. In comparison, among whites children account for 33%.

Among the adult coloured population 18% are aged over 50, compared with 29% for the country's whites.

Since 86% of coloured adults are urban, these are increasingly courted by the Cape consumer market. While 22% are rural dwellers, a staggering 77% of the urban population lives in the Cape and 45% in the Cape Peninsula.

The average coloured household comprises 5,9 persons (3,5 adults to 2,4 children) compared with 3,3 persons in the average white household.

CSO: 4700/1301

# FAR EAST CLOSING SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE GAP

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 9 May 82 pp 3, 7

[Article by Andrew McNulty]

[Text]

TRADE between South Africa and the Far East has risen dramatically, much of it in South Africa's favour — but the gap is closing fast in some areas.

Most startling has been the growth in trade with Taiwan, South Africa's ally in the region.

Taiwan has been diversifying its sources of imports and its export markets since the mid-1970s, when the United States improved its relationship with mainland China.

For South Africa, trade links with Taiwan were stimulated by the political toing-and-froing between the two countries, which led to the visit by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to Taiwan in 1980.

Since 1975, the total value of two-way trade between SA and Taiwan has leapt by 480%, from R112-million in 1975 to R651-million in 1981.

In 1981 alone, the figure jumped by 58% from R412-million in 1980.

The 1981 figures show that a trade surplus formerly strongly in South Africa's favour is closing rapidly.

Until 1979, the balance of trade with Taiwan remained roughly 2:1 in SA's favour.

In that year the value of imports from

Taiwan was R73-million against exports to that country worth R204-million.

In 1980, imports rose to R153-million and exports to R259-million, and in 1981 imports were R300-million with exports of R351-million.

From the negligible levels of 1974, SA is now Taiwan's 12th-biggest trading partner, and in 1982 is expected either to equal or overtake Nigeria to become Taiwan's most important trade partner in Africa.

Raw materials, primary manufacturing goods and agricultural products are the main items SA exports to Taiwan, while main import items are consumer goods — textiles, electronics — and tooling and manufacturing equipment.

Hong Kong — frequently described as the "gateway to Asia" — is another area where South Africa's trade has grown recently.

Although SA exports to Hong Kong declined by 8% to R198-million in 1981, imports rose by 64% to R220-million, with the result that total trade between the two countries increased last year by 19%, from R351-million in 1980 to R419-million.

Notably, this figure is boosted by a sharp increase in re-exports by Hong Kong to South Africa.

## Pacific Basin's SA Potential

WHILE Western industrial nations — South Africa's traditional trading partners — appear to be sliding more deeply into recession and unemployment caused by structural changes in their economies, the Far East region is fast emerging as the centre of economic growth in the next two decades (see page 3).

The area, known as the Pacific Basin if Japan is included, offers huge potential for South Africa's international trade — if the opportunities are seized.

This was the abiding impression gained by Business Times from a visit to the region — a view strengthened by interviews in South Africa

with businessmen and others who are studying the potential for trade.

First, SA businessmen will have to develop a greater awareness of the action in this region.

They will also have to become more adept at producing and marketing goods for these countries.

They will have to develop a

new image of the area, parts of which were for years centres of political and social unrest.

The main reasons for the positive view are the large and growing populations, the relative stability in most parts and the scintillating economic performances achieved in recent years.

While it is essential to avoid over-generalisation, it must be recognised that the 1980s will be "the decade of Asia".

Growing competition and protectionism worldwide is slowing but not discouraging the region's structural economic growth.

A 1980s-style industrial revolution is kicking Third World and NICs (newly industrialised countries) into the electronic age at a breathtaking pace.

The result is a range of markets from the highly advanced Japanese economy to such NICs as Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, and awakening although lagging areas such as Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand — all developing fast.

Labour and capital intensive industries and technologies are booming.

Activity has been further stimulated by the entry in the middle of the decade of the Asian slumbering giant, mainland China.

Although political relationships between nations in the area are frequently cool to icy, trade links are rarely shunned with anybody if the appropriate channels — which often means doing business through a "middle-man country" — are prudently adopted.

As a senior South African diplomat told Business Times: "International trade knows no barriers anywhere in the world — even in the Far East."

Between 1970 and 1980, a period when the oil crisis and the recession of the late 1970s dragged growth rates in EEC countries and North America to negative and barely positive levels, the average rates of GNP growth in Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines was 8.6%.

CSO/4700/1301

## ACCIDENTS AT AECI EXPLOSIVES PLANT REPORTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 May 82 p 8

[Text]

One man died and two were injured in an explosion at the Modderfontein dynamite plant near Johannesburg last night, bringing to 10 the number of people killed in blasts at the plant this year.

The names of the dead and injured are being withheld until their families have been informed.

The explosion happened at 9.25 pm in the section of the factory where cotton is wound round the explosive core of detonating fuses.

**CUBICLE**

An AECI spokesman said the two injured men were taken to the plant's hospital, where their condition was not serious.

The spokesman said the explosion happened in a cubicle with strengthened walls. The detonator core was fed continuously through the wall.

"The moment a problem arises a guillotine

cuts the core and seals the cubicle off. In this way the explosion was minimised," the spokesman explained.

On February 17, a man was killed and six others were injured in two explosions in the refuse acid station at the factory. Fire broke out at the refuse acid station immediately after the explosion but it was brought under control by Modderfontein's own fire brigade.

A day later eight people died and 21 were injured when a third explosion rocked the AECI plant as a team was investigating the previous day's blasts.

**INQUIRY**

The explosion severely damaged the number one factory, which was closed. The Government's chief inspector of explosives mounted an investigation and a commission of inquiry was appointed later.

The cause of last night's explosion is not yet known.

# SCAW METALS TO SPEND R33-M ON SPONGE IRON PLANT

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 9 May 82 p 5

[Article by Andrew McNulty]

[Text]

IN a significant move into a new, strategically important, technology, Scaw Metals is to spend R33-million on erecting a direct-reduction sponge iron plant.

Scaw, wholly owned by Anglo American Industrial Corp (Amic), has already started work on the plant, which will be commissioned in 1983.

The sponge iron plant follows commissioning last year of a R30-million Hille bar and section mill which expanded Scaw's product ranges and gives Amic — through Scaw and Highveld — a wide range of products across the iron and steel sector.

The sponge plant has a rated capacity of 80 000 tons a year, but the chairman, Graham Boustred, says that they hope to achieve production levels of 100 000 tons a year.

The decision by Scaw to opt for a direct reduction (DRI) plant is significant

for several reasons: For Scaw, it will create a reliable supply of raw material for smelting.

A growing shortage of scrap iron in South Africa has already placed constraints on Scaw's production — and expansion — capacities, and this situation is expected to worsen in coming years.

A major advantage of the DRI process is that the coal to be used as a reductant is semi-bituminous — the process, in fact, does not use use coking coal, of which there is a serious shortage in South Africa.

Production of steel using a non-coking coal reductant is thus a contribution to conserving the country's coal resources (and probably also towards keeping coal-mining activities out of the Kruger Park).

The smaller-scale DRI plants also require lower capital investments than big blastfurnaces and are more flexible and more readily adjusted to mar-

ket demands.

For similar reasons, Iscor announced recently that it is to erect a coal-based DRI plant at its Pretoria works at a cost of R40-million, using the process

designed by the West German company, Lurgi.

Technology for the Scaw plant is supplied by the US-based Direct Reduction Corp.

These plants are also of international importance because few DRI plants elsewhere in the world so far use only coal rather than one of or a mix of materials such as oil and gas as a reductant material.

The Scaw plant — located in Germiston and so requiring sophisticated pollution-control equipment — will consume about 120 000 tons/year of iron ore from Iscor's Sishen mine and about 60 000 tons/year of semi-bituminous coal from Amcoal's Arnot colliery.

CSO: 4700/1301

## BRIEFS

**ANTI-BLAST CURTAIN**--An anti-explosive safety curtain which is fire-retardant and is capable of containing the effects of high explosives was launched on the market yesterday with a demonstration to the public. The curtain fabric "Protex" costs R15 a metre and is available in a variety of colours. The fabric is meant primarily for buildings where if there is an explosion, need to counter the lethal effects of exploded windowglass and shrapnel. Being fire-retardant it absorbs flames so that they do not spread following petrol bomb attacks. "Protex" is marketed and distributed by Security Scouts, a commercial and industrial security group specialising in operations against crime, espionage and sabotage. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 May 82 p 12]

**CP HITS REFERENDUM**--The Government was playing into the hands of Mr Harry Oppenheimer, international liberalism and Moscow by regarding Whites, Coloureds and Indians as one nation for the purposes of a referendum, Mr Tom Langley (CP, Waterkloof), said yesterday. Opposing the second reading of the Referendums Bill, he said the clause which provided for a referendum of White, Indian, Coloured and Chinese voters endangered White survival in South Africa. Until recently it had been thought impossible for the Progressive Federal Party or a party like it to come to power on the White vote. But if the PFP and like-minded members of the National Party, together with Coloureds, Indians and Chinese voted together in a referendum conservative Whites could be "ploughed under." The only course then left to South Africa would be majority rule. He described as "flagrant racial discrimination" the fact that Indian and Chinese permanent residents of South Africa would be able to vote in the referendum while European immigrant permanent residents would be excluded. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 May 82 p 4]

**TRIAL OF ACCUSED 'TERRORIST'**--The president of the 70 000-strong SA Allied Workers Union, three other trade unionists and Mr Cedric Radcliff Mayson appeared briefly in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday together with Miss Barbara Hogan on charges under the Terrorism Act. As the president of the union, Mr Thozamile Gqweta of East London entered the dock he gave the Black power salute. A number of people in the gallery returned it. The police had organised that the prisoners ascend the steps to the court room with members of the police force to deter those in the public gallery from rushing around the dock. The entire appearance was orderly and without incident. Throughout the brief appearance Mr Gqweta appeared highly amused

and at times even laughed. The six accused, Miss Hogan (30) of Yeoville, trade unionist Mr Alan Fine and Mr Mayson (54) both of Bellevue, Mr Gqweta, Mr Samuel Kine and Mr Sisa Njikelana will appear in court again on June 14. They will remain in custody. The prosecution yesterday informed the court that the charges against them would be finalised and the charge sheet prepared by that date. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 May 82 p 5]

**BOMB SCARE**--An estimated 2 000 people attending a Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) meeting yesterday afternoon refused to evacuate a hall when police wanted to search for a bomb allegedly planted there. There was chaos when the police, lead by Captain J Greyling of the Security Police, entered the premises. Angry young men who shouted, "we do not want you here," closed the doors on the police. The crowd then started singing freedom songs. Some people tried to run out of the hall but could not get out. Others jumped on chairs to see what was happening and some ran to the stage. Halfway through the meeting, Captain Greyling approached reporters who were standing at the door and asked them to introduce him to the organiser of the meeting. He was referred to Mr Q Godolozzi, president of Pebco. He told Mr Godolozzi that they had come to search for a bomb after someone had telephoned the Kwazakhele police station to say that a bomb would go off in the hall before five. Captain Greyling said the caller described himself as a "Mr James." He asked Mr Godolozzi to tell the people about this and asked them to evacuate the hall for their own safety. When Mr Godolozzi told the meeting, there were shouts of: "We do not need their protection. Ask them to leave. There is no bomb here." The police, who were in uniform and plainclothes, left immediately Mr Godolozzi told them the reaction. The meeting then continued as if nothing had happened. [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 18 May 82 p 5]

**BLACK STUDENT THREATENED**--Grahamstown--A telegram informing him of his "death" has been sent to the president of the Black Students Society at Rhodes University, Mr Colin Nxumalo. The telegram, sent from the Market Square Post Office in Grahamstown, said: "Collin died tragically. Funeral arrangements are being made." Mr Nxumalo said today he was taking the threat seriously and had handed the telegram to the police. He said he was shocked and angry at the threats and abuse but added: "Such things will not make me deviate from my course. But the calls have affected me. When you do not know who your enemies are it is very worrying." The incident appears to be a sequel to the appearance on the Rhodes campus two weeks ago for a racist anti-black pamphlet. The pamphlet accused black students of being responsible for a decrease in hygienic standards in the residences and of spreading venereal disease. It also alleged that two black students had tried to rape a white female student. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 15 May 82 p 2]

1298



FUEL STORAGE DEPOT DAMAGED--Several explosions at Paulpietersburg caused the fuel storage depot of a fuel company to catch fire. A oil storage tank and two tankers also caught fire. No one was injured in the explosions or in the fire, but a large number of policemen are busy with an intensive investigation. A police spokesman in Pretoria said it could not be ascertained what type of explosives were used or how many explosions there were. Explosives experts are investigating. About 6:30 last night an incident occurred near Paulpietersburg which could be connected with this incident. A police spokesman said that two company representatives, 52-year-old Mr E. J. Viljoen and 18-year-old Ben Ludick, parked their vehicle alongside the road about 5 km from the town. They were watching television at the back of the van when they were accosted and held by two armed black men. The two black men, who were dressed in khaki overalls, assaulted the two whites and tied them to the branches of a tree. The two whites managed to release themselves and reported the incident to the police. A fuel depot spokesman said that the damaged tank was still burning. He could not say what the extent of the damage was, as their representatives were still investigating. The signal box at the town railway station was also damaged. Little damage was done to other equipment, train traffic on the main coal line to Richards Bay is normal, and there were no incidents. The commissioner of railways police, Lieutenant-General Hannes Visagie, said that a team of railways police were on the scene to investigate. [MB030927 Johannesburg Domestic Service in Afrikaans 0830 GMT 3 Jun 82]

CSO: 4700/1317

SOVIET WEAPONS ASSISTANCE, INFLUENCE IN ARMED FORCES INCREASING

Dakar AFRICA in French No 140, Apr 82 p 7

[Article: "Zambia Swings to the East"]

[Text] A military mission led by a Soviet general has just been set up in Zambia, giving rise to agitation in Western chanceries. Zambia is said to be in the process, according to observers, of swinging over into the Soviet orbit, following Angola, Ethiopia and Mozambique.

The Zambian president, Kenneth Kaunda, justified himself before the Lusaka Parliament, saying that since he had tried in vain in the past to obtain arms from a Western country, he saw himself compelled to apply to the Soviets.

Zambia's rearming goes back to the time of the guerrilla warfare in Rhodesia. The Patriotic Front's headquarters were in Lusaka. Retaliatory helicopter raids by the Rhodesian Army were frequent; even the capital was not spared. The acquisition of combat aircraft to counter these attacks from the sky proved necessary.

In 1978, the British Government, anxious to counteract Kenneth Kaunda's threats to seek assistance in Moscow or Havana, offered Zambia antiaircraft defense equipment: Tigercat missiles, antiaircraft guns, mortars, radar--several hundred tons of equipment in all. The offer was limited and did not succeed in dissuading the president from his plans for communist aid. That is how the creation of an air force was entrusted to the Soviets.

Now that the war has come to an end at home since the Patriotic Front's victory in Zimbabwe, the reinforcement of Zambia's already powerful combat air fleet (more than 200 fighters and military air transport planes) and its army is said to be justified by the existence of another war just as destabilizing for Zambia, according to Lusaka--the one South Africa is waging in Namibia.

The South African Threat

In actual fact, South African troops, determined to track down SWAPO guerrillas, are moving around with impunity on Zambian soil north of the Caprivi Strip enclave.

Lusaka's determination to retaliate against the repeated border violations by Pretoria's troops and Washington's flaunting sympathy toward South Africa explain the decision of the Zambian president, though he is well known for his moderation and wisdom, to once more resort to Soviet military assistance.

The Russians have not lost any time. They are presently carrying out a complete reorganization of the Zambian Army and have already sent arms worth CFA Fr 150 billion, in particular SAM ground-to-air missiles, tanks, armored troop transport vehicles and MIG-21's. At the same time, several hundred Soviet advisers have taken the training of the country's armed forces in hand. Zambia, a country of 6 million that used to have only a small armed force of 14,000 men at its disposal, will be able to increase its troop strength by 50 percent with the massive support of the Soviets. To that end, voluntary service will soon be replaced by conscription. As for officers, most of whom have come out of British military schools, they will be compelled to retrain in Soviet academies.

Zambia--involved in the Namibian conflict against its will and outwitted by the USSR and its suffocating aid--could become a new field of operation for Soviet plans to penetrate southern Africa.

9631

CSO: 4719/857

## BURLISON SAYS MNR EXECUTED THOSE ATTEMPTING ESCAPE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 May 82 p 12

[Text]

ARARE. — British zoologist Mr John Burlison, held prisoner by the rebel MNR in Mozambique and released this week, said that two men who tried to escape were executed as a warning to others.

Mr Burlison was kidnapped by MNR guerillas on December 17 while working in Mozambique's Gorongosa national park in southern Mozambique and was freed on Monday. Mr Burlison said in a report despatched to the Zimbabwe news agency Ziana from Matlale that he thought the deal "would never

also expressed over what statements to might have on Carril, a Chimathematics kidnapped with last time he Carril was on Feb-

ruary 8, when they were separated.

The report said he pointed out that whatever he said might land Carril "in serious trouble".

"There were some executions while I was with them as well," he said.

"There were two guys who were captured with me and who tried to escape. They were killed for trying to escape. I knew them both. I was told they were killed and that it was a warning to the others, and, obviously any warning to the others applied to me.

"Another six prisoners who tried to escape were beaten. They tried to escape again and were caught again. The six were shot. I heard the shots".

Asked if his kidnappers were receiving supplies from South Africa, Mr Burlison said he had seen "some parachutes," but had not

seen them being dropped.

"What I saw was what they wanted me to see. I always kept this in mind. I wasn't necessarily getting a true picture".

While he was being kept in Gorongosa he was closely guarded.

"In the beginning, because they realised I had worked in that area, all during the day I had at least one person permanently with me while we walked, and at night four or five

people would sleep around me. Once they got me a long way from the areas I knew, I was very lightly guarded."

The kidnappers attacked communal villages and shops to get food.

Mr Burlison said he was anxious to return to his family in England, and "might" return to work in Mozambique. — Sapa.